

FREEDOM vs. SLAVERY

KITTLE



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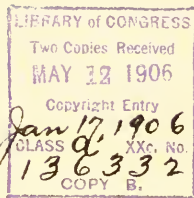
UNITED STATES
1619—1865

BY
WILLIAM KITTLE

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FREEDOM vs. SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

(1619-1776.)

TWO VOYAGES.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, there took place two important voyages from England to America. One of the vessels was named the Treasurer, and the other was the Mayflower. A period of only sixteen months separated their arrival in America. One of these ships brought slaves, while the other carried the Pilgrim fathers. The Treasurer was loaded with black men; ignorant, savage, manacled, scourged by the lash, and brutalized by former slavery; the Mayflower brought men and women deeply religious; some of them were cultured, and all were sternly devoted to what they thought was just and right.

THE TREASURER.

In April, 1618, the Treasurer, commanded by Captain Daniel Elfrith, left England and arrived in Virginia late in the summer of the same year. As Captain Elfrith had, from the Duke of Savoy, only a commission empowering him to seize the property of Spaniards, he was little better than a pirate, as Eng-

land was then at peace with Spain. Gov. Argall of Virginia, who aided in refitting the vessel, supplied her with the most desperate men he could find. Captain Elfrith then left Virginia for the Barbadoes, where he remained six weeks in the winter of 1618-19. In the following spring, he set out on a roving voyage, no record of which has been kept; but in September, 1619, the Treasurer, in consort with the "man-of-war of Flushing," returned to Jamestown, Virginia, with a cargo of negroes, grain, wax, and tallow. This man-of-war was to protect the Treasurer, and its captain, John Powell, also held from the Duke of Savoy a commission which empowered him to plunder the Spaniards. One or both of these vessels landed twenty negroes at Jamestown. Thus, slavery began in the colonies.

THE MAYFLOWER.

The Mayflower left Plymouth, England, September 16, 1620. A steady wind bore the vessel out to mid-ocean, where a succession of terrible storms compelled the ship to "lie to" for several days. One of the main beams was broken by the force of the great waves. There on an open sea, a thousand miles from either shore, at the mercy of wind and wave and storm, waited and watched and prayed, one hundred men, women, and children. These were the Puritans crossing a great ocean and to a new world, for conscience' sake. On December 21, 1620, they landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. That was the birthday of New England; and the rock, on which they landed, which is still pointed out to travelers, will not be forgotten as long as the sea continues to wash it.

TWO ECONOMIC GROUPS.

What had these two voyages to do with each other? Everything. From them came two great movements hostile to each other, and extending over two and a half centuries of our history. The Treasurer began the course of slavery; the Mayflower, that of wage labor. From the introduction of slavery in 1619, until its abolition in 1865, there was not an hour when these hostile forces did not gather strength or meet in open conflict. For the first two centuries, from 1619 to 1819, both sides gathered strength for the contest. From 1820 to 1860, the two groups met in intellectual and moral conflict for the possession of new territory and political power. But the Civil War closed this long conflict. By a thousand battles, four years of great endeavor, billions of debt, and millions of armed men, two hundred and forty-six years of shameful history were ended and four million slaves were set free.

JOHN HAWKINS.

Fifty-seven years before the voyage of the Treasurer, John Hawkins, commanding three small vessels, the Soloman, the Swallow, and the Jonas, sailed from England in October, 1562. Going by way of the Canary Islands to Sierra Leone, where he collected three hundred negroes, he crossed westward to San Domingo, where he sold them at an enormous profit. He then returned to England. Two years later, when he made the same voyage he became the hero of the hour in London. In this trade with the Spanish plantations, he had boldly disobeyed the orders of the Spanish king, who desired that such trade should be

held by Spaniards only. On his return, Hawkins had openly boasted of his exploits, and had even told De Silva, the ambassador of Philip king of Spain, that he should soon go on another voyage of the same kind. De Silva wrote to Philip, whose lively interest was at once shown by the startled exclamations, "Ojo! Ojo!" which he inscribed in the margin of his ambassador's letter. In 1567, Hawkins left England on his third voyage, sold his negroes in the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, and while skirting the coast of Cuba, was caught in a storm and driven to Mexico near Vera Cruz. Here he was betrayed by Spanish officials acting under Philip's orders, and with a few men, barely escaped to England.

THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.

Hawkins's work was the beginning of the English slave trade between Africa and America. But for the next hundred years very few negroes were brought into the North American colonies. During this period, three African trading companies were chartered by the kings of England; but the last of these surrendered its charter in 1672, and a new trading company, called the Royal African Company, was given a charter to trade in Africa and to send slaves to America. This new company had a capital of \$500,000, and paid the old company \$175,000 for its forts and warehouses in Africa. It had agencies in London where merchants of that city gave orders for slaves, just as they did for other merchandise. The planters in the colonies sent their orders for slaves to the London merchants. In 1713, Spain and England formed the *Assiento*, or treaty, by which the Royal African Company obtained

a complete monopoly of the slave trade for thirty years. The Company agreed to pay the king of Spain 200,000 florins and 33½ florins for each slave imported into Spain. The sovereigns of England and Spain were each to receive one-fourth of the profits of the Company. The Company agreed to furnish the colonies 144,000 thousand slaves in the thirty years, at the rate of 4,800 each year, but was permitted to supply as many more negroes as it could sell. The Royal African Company as an exclusive trading body ceased in 1750, when Parliament threw open the slave trade to any merchant who would pay a fee of forty shillings.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

By means of these companies, a steady stream of negroes flowed into the new world. For a hundred years before the American Revolution, thousands of black men were unloaded and sold each year at the American ports. From 1680 to 1688, the Royal African Company sent 249 ships from England to Africa and transported 60,000 slaves to America. Nor were English merchants alone responsible for this trade. Each year saw numerous slavers leave Boston, Salem, Providence, and Newport, to engage in the trade. By the year 1700, the number of negroes taken annually rose to 25,000, and from 1733 to 1750 the number averaged more than 20,000 each year. Probably more than half of all these were sold to the North American colonies. By 1775, more than 300,000 negroes had been sold as slaves along the coast from Maine to Georgia.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE.

When taken in connection with the capture of the negroes on the African coast and the horrors of the "Middle Passage" to America, these figures are appalling. When the slaver lay at anchor on the African coast, bands of armed men went to the interior, seized the wretched victims, bound them back to back, and in the morning put them, tied hand and foot, on board the slave ship. The "Middle Passage" was a long voyage from the west coast of Africa to the new world, and under a hot and burning sky. For more than three thousand miles in the torrid zone, the slave ship formed the worst of prisons. Sometimes as many as five hundred negroes were crowded on board a small vessel of only two hundred tons. In the morning, all the captives were compelled to come up on deck to "dance" for exercise. If one refused, the fearful cat-o'-nine-tails was used. Open rebellion meant instant death. Those who were disorderly suffered the thumb-screws, or were chained by the neck and limbs. The daily food was salt pork and beans. At sunset, all were driven below and forced to lie side by side on the bare boards. To prevent mutiny, whole rows were chained together on the floor. Here, at night, the air grew thick and hot; diseases were communicated; curses and groans and sobbings were heard; and in the morning, exhausted and feverish, the slaves went to the deck. On a stormy voyage, it was still worse. At such times, all were driven below, the hatches were securely fastened down, so that all ventilation ceased. When the storm was past, those who were alive were allowed to come forth with parched mouths and swollen tongues. Sometimes one-half or

even two-thirds of all the negroes died on the "Middle Passage;" but the average loss of life was from ten to fifteen out of every hundred.

DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES: 1619-1775.

Slaves were held in all of the thirteen colonies. In 1775, from New Hampshire to Georgia inclusive, the whites numbered about 2,000,000 and the blacks 500,000; but five-sixths of all the slaves were held south of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. In the four New England colonies, there were not far from 25,000 slaves. In the four middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the negroes numbered about 50,000. In the remaining five colonies, the slaves numbered over 425,000. In 1775, in the New England colonies, there were forty-two whites to one black, and in the four middle colonies, thirteen to one; but in the five southern colonies, the slaves outnumbered the whites.

SLAVE LAWS.

By law in each of the thirteen colonies, the slave was the property of his master; he might be bought, sold, leased, loaned, bequeathed by will, mortgaged and seized for debt, and could neither hold nor acquire property. The clothes that he wore, the cabin in which he lived, and the wife and children who toiled with him in the fields, belonged to his master. The slave might be punished as the master saw fit, and if death resulted, the law presumed the master innocent on the ground that he would not intentionally destroy his own property. The usual legal punishments were starvation, crucifixion, and burning. If a slave ran

away, he at once became an outlaw, and was hunted as an animal. He could not leave the plantation without a written permit, and if found without one, might be whipped by each person into whose hands he fell, until he was returned to his master. He could not own a gun or any weapon of defense. The law forbade him to wander about at night or to assemble at feasts or funerals or any gatherings in parties of more than seven. Three facts modify our view of these severe laws: harsh laws were common at that time; the savage nature of many newly arrived slaves made strict restraint necessary; and the natural kindness of the owners prevented any general execution of the laws.

CONDITION OF SLAVES.

It is certain that outside of the Carolinas and Georgia the slaves were well and mildly treated. They had sufficient food, they were fairly well clothed, and not overworked or often beaten. In the northern and middle colonies, they were employed as house servants or for all kinds of menial work in the cities. In the southern colonies, they toiled in the fields in the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, and rice. In Connecticut only one or two slaves were held by one person, while in Maryland, one wealthy planter owned thirteen hundred, and one planter in Virginia, nine hundred slaves. The average number of slaves on each Carolina plantation was thirty. Each plantation was a community by itself; all the trades being represented. Part of the slaves were house servants; one was his master's coachman, another a blacksmith or a carpenter, and still others were field hands. The "negro

quarter" was a collection of small, whitewashed cabins where the slaves of the plantation lived. Here they gathered after the day's work was over, told stories, sang songs, and watched their children at play. They were fond of music and delighted in brilliant colors. They were densely ignorant and superstitious. When night came on, they gathered in groups in the firelight, with their eyes rolling in terror at the stories of witches, ghosts, and devils. They called the planter's home with its large rooms and spacious hallway in the center, the "great house." Around it were fine driveways and acres of well-kept grounds covered with stately oak trees which cast their deep shadows in the long summer of the South.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH CONTRASTED.

The North in 1776, comprised the eight colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. This area of 126,860 square miles extended westward only to the Alleghanies. The total population was about 1,750,000, less than one twentieth of whom were negroes. The South consisted of the five colonies of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. This slave belt of 196,955 square miles, limited also by the Alleghanies, had a total population of about 750,000, more than one-half of whom were slaves. The North had small farms and numerous villages and towns; the South had large plantations and few towns. The North had a flourishing foreign commerce, while the South was mainly engaged in agriculture.

ABSENCE OF CONFLICT FROM 1619 TO 1776.

During the colonial period, there was almost no contest between the sections. They were not united politically, and were separated by physical barriers. The worst of roads were common until long after the Revolution. The system of hand labor, used everywhere in the colonies, even with the greater skill of the wage laborer, could not make the two groups competitive. Slaves were held in every northern colony; but the long winters, the many industries demanding more or less skill, and the constant immigration of free laborers, proved that wage-labor was actually cheaper and more effective than ignorant slave labor. This economic fact, rather than sentiments of liberty, caused slavery to disappear from the North. Nor was there any general feeling against slaveholding. On the contrary, many of the best families of New England held a few slaves or engaged in the profitable slave trade. The large shipping interests of New England which demanded employment, were not over scrupulous where it might be obtained. But in the South, with its mild climate and the simple forms of labor on the plantation, slave labor was, no doubt, cheaper. Each section worked out its own economic interests with no resulting conflict, until each needed the same political power or the same territory.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

(1776-1789.)

VOICES OF FREEDOM.

In 1775, over 400,000 slaves toiled in the tobacco, rice, and indigo fields of the South; but their hard lot had been noticed, and from time to time, sympathetic voices had been heard in their behalf. Though these voices of freedom were scattered far and wide, and heard only at intervals, yet they were not raised in vain. They were like the prelude to some great piece of music, whose first clear notes dying away in silence, break at last into full volume.

QUAKERS AND METHODISTS.

The first recorded petition against slavery in the colonies was drawn up by some Quakers of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1688. They said it was "not lawful to buy or keep slaves." This was only six years after Philadelphia was founded. William Penn held slaves, but in his will made them free at his death. In 1758, the Society of Friends forbade any slave-buyer to sit in their meetings. Through the influence of the Quakers, thousands of slaves were set free by their masters. But the Friends were not the only religious body that spoke for freedom. In 1780, the Metho-

dists, at their eighth conference, voted "slave-keeping hurtful to society and contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature." Five years later, the Methodist conferences of Virginia and North Carolina asked the assemblies of those States to abolish slavery. The first prominent abolitionist was the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Rhode Island. During the Revolution, he published an argument for abolition in the form of a dialogue, and dedicated it to Congress.

OPINIONS OF THE FATHERS.

Washington spoke and wrote against slavery. His most intimate friend and neighbor, George Mason, spoke bitterly of the system. Patrick Henry poured out his scorn for the wrong. Thomas Jefferson wrote, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is justice and that his justice cannot sleep forever." Benjamin Franklin was president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Richard Henry Lee and Edmund Randolph desired freedom for all slaves. James Madison said that the words, "slave" and "slavery" were not used in the national constitution because the men who sat in the great convention of 1787 would not admit that there could be property in human beings. Thus, everywhere and by everybody, slavery was looked upon as a wrong, and it was not long before numerous societies were formed to abolish the evil.

ABOLITION SOCIETIES.

The first abolition society was organized in Pennsylvania in 1774, and Benjamin Franklin was elected its president. John Jay was president of the New York Abolition Society. From 1774 to 1792, such societies

had been formed in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and during the same period Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont had abolished slavery, and Delaware had forbidden the slave-trade. In North Carolina, there was a strong sentiment against slavery, especially among the Quakers.

ECONOMIC INTERESTS CONTROL.

Thus, during this period, there was a marked outburst of sentiment against slavery. The Declaration of Independence on its face proclaimed liberty for all men. The most eminent men, Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Patrick Henry, Lee, and Madison spoke and wrote against the institution. Societies for the abolition of slavery were formed in at least six states, Virginia being one of them. But only three southern states opposed the slave trade from Africa which was no longer vital to the interests of the South, while all the great section south of Mason and Dixon's line kept slavery and the domestic slave trade in full vigor. The spirit of liberty was not allowed to interfere with economic interest. Nor was the North moved by sentiment. Six northern states passed laws for immediate or gradual freedom; but these registered an accomplished fact rather than heralded a reform. The outburst of sentiment made neither the North nor the South oppose its own economic interest.

OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY.

Opposition to slavery showed itself most strongly from 1775 to 1785. During this period, South Carolina and Georgia gave no hope to the slave.

North Carolina laid a tax of twenty-five dollars on each negro imported. Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey had forbidden the foreign slave trade. Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island had either abolished slavery outright, or had passed laws which gave freedom to every child born after the law was passed. When the Revolution came, each state, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, adopted a new constitution, and in not a single constitution, was slavery legally established. The words, "slave" or "slavery" were not even used in any one of the eleven new constitutions, except in the constitution of Delaware, where these words were used to abolish the slave trade. Connecticut and Rhode Island did not adopt new constitutions, but they abolished both slavery and the slave trade. Thus, by 1785, two states had done nothing for the negro, one had taxed the slave trade, four had forbidden it, and six had passed laws for immediate or gradual freedom.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a law passed by Congress creating a government for, and forever forbidding slavery in, all the region owned by the United States north and west of the Ohio river. This law abolished slavery in what is now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Thus by a single law, a territory almost as large as England and France was set apart for freedom.

At the close of the Revolution, three states, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, claimed this vast, unknown, and forest-covered region. In 1784,

Virginia and Massachusetts gave up all claim to it, and sixteen years later Connecticut surrendered to the United States her "Western Reserve." Thomas Jefferson carried to Congress the Virginia deed of her claim. He urged Congress to abolish slavery, not only in the northwest territory, but also in the southwest territory, and thus give to freedom all the land from the mountains to the Mississippi river. He wished to hem in slavery by the ocean and by a strong chain of free states; but he lost by asking too much, and it was not until three years later, when he was minister in France, that the question again came before Congress.

THE OHIO COMPANY.

The Ohio Company was started mainly by the efforts of General Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper. Putnam had been down the Ohio river for some distance, and had caught glimpses of that fertile soil which he knew in time would support millions of people. He went back to New England, published glowing accounts of the country, and proposed that a company should be formed to secure lands for the Revolutionary soldiers. In 1786, delegates from eight counties in Massachusetts met at Boston, and heard Putnam and Tupper describe the country and the plan of the company. The result was the formation of the Ohio Company. Putnam, Samuel Parsons, and Manasseh Cutler were made directors; and Cutler was sent to New York City, where Congress then sat, to buy land for the Ohio Company. Cutler met many members of Congress, and offered to buy 5,000,000 acres of land on condition that slavery should not be allowed in the territory. Congress was eager to sell the land, and a

bargain was quickly made. The result was the famous Ordinance of 1787. The three men who had most to do in securing the passage of this great law of Congress were Thomas Jefferson, Rufus King, and William Grayson. On the day that it passed, eight states were represented in Congress by eighteen delegates, and seventeen voted, "Aye." One man from New York voted, "No." The law declared that: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

THE CONVENTION OF 1787.

While Congress at New York City was debating the Ordinance of 1787, a far greater body of men at Philadelphia was considering the Constitution of the United States. This convention, consisting of delegates from twelve states, was held in Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed. Washington was president of the convention. Benjamin Franklin, over eighty years of age, was there to give the benefit of his long and varied experience in public affairs. Alexander Hamilton, with a mind more brilliant and constructive than any other in that great assemblage, left his law practice in New York to attend the convention. Madison, one of the most careful and thoughtful of men, was there. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were absent as ambassadors in Europe. Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry stood aloof, critical, and suspicious. Sixty-five delegates were elected to the convention, but ten of them never attended. Thirty-nine signed their names to the Constitution. Every state except Rhode Island

was represented. The convention held almost daily sessions from May 25 to September 17. When the Constitution was completed, it was found that it contained three important provisions relating to slavery.

I. FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The first provision was the clause providing for the return of runaway slaves. It declared that a slave escaping into a free state should not gain his freedom by any law of the free state, but should be returned to his owner. This clause was put into the Constitution mainly through the efforts of Pierce Butler of South Carolina. Butler seems to have been a sharp and persistent attorney in the interest of slavery.

FIRST FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW: 1793.

To carry out this provision, Congress, in 1793, passed the first Fugitive Slave Law, which gave the owner the legal right to enter a free state in pursuit of his slave, bind him in chains, and return him into helpless, hopeless bondage. This law was at once put into operation. Under it, a negro boy in Massachusetts was arrested, and Josiah Quincy defended him in court. Later, Quincy said he "heard a noise, and turning round, he saw the constable lying sprawling on the floor and a passage opening through the crowd through which the fugitive was taking his departure, without stopping to hear the opinion of the court."

KIDNAPING.

This law was also used to capture the free negroes who then numbered thousands in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. A brutal

slave driver would pretend ownership of a free negro, chase him with bloodhounds through swamps and fields, and when he was captured, sell him into slavery. By 1796, this kidnaping had become such a common occurrence that Delaware asked the government of the United States to stop it. The Quakers of North Carolina also asked Congress to protect the liberty of one hundred and thirty-four free negroes who had been kidnaped. Four negroes of North Carolina petitioned Congress for protection. The free negroes of Philadelphia in 1799 asked Congress to stop kidnaping in Maryland and Pennsylvania. A violent debate sprang up in Congress when these petitions were read. Jackson, of Georgia, said that property in slaves would be in danger if any extra attention was given the petitions. Congress voted to give back to the North Carolina Quakers their petition. Other petitions were not considered. Kidnaping continued. The Fugitive Slave Law stood for fifty-seven years and produced a long history of outrages.

2. THE SLAVE TRADE.

The second provision of the Constitution relating to slavery declared that Congress should not stop the slave-trade before 1808. All the states but South Carolina and Georgia wished to put into the Constitution a clause abolishing the trade at once. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, plainly told the delegates from the other states that his state would not agree to the Constitution if it prohibited the slave-trade. "No slave-trade, no Union," was the clear-cut statement of Rutledge and Pinckney. But with this difficulty arose another. The New England states wished to

give Congress power to regulate commerce. Before 1787, each state had control of foreign commerce, and there were as many sets of rules and taxes on imported goods as there were states. This interfered very greatly with trade. New England was largely interested in this foreign trade. Her vessels plied constantly between Europe and America. Therefore, New England, in order to increase the amount of trade, wished to give Congress the power to regulate that trade. But the South was afraid New England would soon get control of all the vessels running between Europe and America, and would raise the freight rates on all goods shipped either way. Here was a chance for a bargain between the North and the South. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut agreed to allow the slave-trade to run for twenty years, or until 1808, if Georgia and South Carolina would vote to give Congress power to regulate commerce. The two slave states accepted, and for twenty years longer not a year went by that did not see hundreds of negroes suffer the horrors of the "Middle Passage."

3. THE REPRESENTATION OF SLAVES.

The third provision of the Constitution relating to slavery declared that each state should be represented in Congress according to its population, but that the population should be found by adding to the whole number of free persons three-fifths of all the slaves. This almost doubled the power of the South in Congress. In 1790, there were only 40,000 slaves in the states north of Mason and Dixon's line, while south of that line there were over 650,000. The total number of representatives in Congress was sixty-five, and out

of this number the six southern states had thirty members of Congress. Thirteen of the thirty southern members represented slaves who were not citizens and who could not vote. Thus, one planter in the South had nearly twice as much power in Congress as a farmer or merchant in the North. But this was not all. A very small number of wealthy and aristocratic families held all the political power of the South. It was indeed a generous and noble aristocracy. Its members prided themselves on their manhood, bravery, kindness, and hospitality. But these wealthy families ruled the South, and more than that, a few thousand of these great planters were now given as much power in Congress as 1,900,000 free persons at the North. In the free states this was felt to be unfair; but in order to form the Union, the North was forced to agree to it, and for seventy years the South used with vigor the advantage extorted by fear.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD.

(1789-1820.)

ALLEGED EXPLANATION.

For thirty years following the convention of 1787, agitation of the slavery question gradually died out. Historians have alleged that this was due to several causes. 1. The Constitution itself cut off all hope; it clearly and strongly recognized slavery as a fact. The rendition of fugitive slaves, the continuance of the slave trade, and the representation of slaves, were the three great conditions of Union. 2. The second bar to slavery agitation was the fact that the best intelligence of the country was directed to the organization of the new government. Laws had to be made, courts established, numerous departments set in operation, an army and a navy formed, debts paid, a revenue system adopted, a rebellion put down, and various other domestic questions had to be settled. 3. Hardly was the new government well under way when public attention was absorbed by a series of foreign questions which soon led to war. Public attention to this new danger, and to the questions to which it gave rise, allowed no room for slavery agitation. 4. The formation of two great political parties during the first thirty years of the Union also prevented such agitation.

Political intrigue and partisanship, caucus and campaign held the close attention of thousands of men besides such leaders as Jefferson and Hamilton. Thus, have the historians explained that the Constitution, the organization of the new government, foreign affairs, and the formation of parties prevented the rise of anti-slavery sentiment.

ECONOMIC EXPLANATION.

But these four alleged "causes" do not fully explain, and perhaps do not explain at all, the absence of sharp conflict from 1789 to 1820. There was no conflict because the economic sections were developing westward on parallel lines. Had they crossed each other's path in 1805, there would have been, in proportion to the interests involved, as violent an outburst, as in 1820. Each section was taking possession of the vast and fertile lands westward to the Mississippi; and the southwest devoted to slavery, and the northwest to freedom, made contest impossible until expansion had crossed the Mississippi.

Moreover, the balance of power was carefully maintained in the national government. To keep the North and the South equal in the Senate, the states were admitted in pairs: Kentucky and Vermont; Tennessee and Ohio; Louisiana and Indiana; Mississippi and Illinois. These states were not admitted together in point of time, but the balance of power was clearly recognized.

At the close of the period, there had been so little discussion of the slavery question, that Thomas Jefferson said that the strife over the admission of Missouri fell on his ear, "like a fire-bell in the night."

CHAPTER IV.

THE "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT."

(1820-1860.)

REAL CAUSE OF THE AGITATION.

From the Missouri Compromise to the Civil War, arose the so-called "irrepressible conflict." Was it a conflict of ideas, or of economic interests? Why was the spirit of liberty aroused so suddenly? Were all the great historic voices of freedom, in the fullness of time, giving a trumpet call to duty? Were the spirit of Anglo-Saxon law and liberty, the opinions of the fathers and the principles of the Declaration of Independence arousing the American conscience? Did the rare courage of Garrison, the pathetic death of Lovejoy, and the eloquence of Wendell Phillips lead to the Civil War and emancipation? When Lincoln said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other," did he mean a conflict of ideas or of two solid economic groups, one of which must inevitably yield? There was indeed a conflict of ideas but back of these ideas were the vast business interests of two great economic regions. The pulpit, platform, press, and debates in Congress merely expressed dif-

ferent phases of these real interests. Laws expressed the triumph of one section over the other, or a compromise. The real conflict lay in the fact that two different industrial systems, bound together by a strong central government, sought to control that government and the new territory won by purchase or conquest.

I. WESTWARD EXPANSION: 1790-1860.

The westward expansion of the two sections preceded, accompanied, and in large part explains the "irrepressible conflict" from 1820 to 1860.

Five important roads led to the West before 1820:

(a) From Albany via the Mohawk valley to Buffalo. After 1825, the Erie Canal was used and this lowered freight rates from New York City to Lake Erie from \$120 to \$19 per ton.

(b) From Philadelphia via southern Pennsylvania to Pittsburg, a distance of 350 miles.

(c) From Alexandria, Virginia, via Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River.

(d) From Richmond via the pass at "the upper Roanoke southwest to the Holston River and thence down the Tennessee, or northwestward through the Cumberland Gap to Kentucky."

(e) "From Georgia westward there was easy travel to Mississippi Territory and New Orleans."

The influence of vast areas of free land, made accessible by these roads, cannot be overestimated. After the year 1800, the national government sold this land on a term of four years' credit at a minimum price of \$2 per acre. Tens of thousands of emigrants were on all the roads going to the West from 1790 to 1820. In 1790, Tennessee had a population of 36,000 and

twenty years later, 262,000. In 1800, Ohio had 45,000 and twenty years later, 581,000. By 1820, 2,600,000 persons were settled west of the Alleghanies, and by 1840, 7,000,000. The westward movement of population crossed the Mississippi River, and to the distant coast regions of Oregon and California and brought the two sections into a contest over the possession of new territory.

2. THE FACTORY SYSTEM.

With this vast westward expansion, was going on a second change which revolutionized the industries and interests of both sections. The factory system was well under way by 1820. The cotton gin was invented in 1793, and the demand for cotton caused by the rise of the factory system with the advantage of the new invention, and with the westward expansion, increased the cotton crop in thirty years nearly a thousand fold. The system of "land killing" and the profits of cotton growing made new areas necessary to the South. Before 1820, steam vessels appeared on the western rivers and the great lakes. In 1814, Francis Lowell set up in Massachusetts a power loom for spinning and weaving cotton, and the movement of population toward the cities began in the North.

THE ECONOMIC CONFLICT: 1820-1860.

The future agitation of the slavery question might have been foretold in 1820. The Missouri Compromise was the result of a contest for land and power. Nullification was the strong protest and threat of one section which was being taxed for the benefit of the other. Webster's splendid vision of the "gorgeous ensign of

the republic now known and honored throughout the earth," had a very real background of a great ocean commerce, a vast territory reaching to the northwest, a rising factory system, and a dominant North. Abolitionism, the purest form of an appeal to abstract liberty and held by the loftiest minds, was hated and despised by nine-tenths of the people. Pure sentiment divorced from business did not make much headway. The annexation of Texas was the natural result of westward expansion. The contest over the resulting Mexican Cession was for more land and power. The Compromise of 1850 was the balancing and settlement of claims. The Kansas-Nebraska law made slavery possible in Kansas and was the triumph of the South. The border warfare in that territory was an appeal to violence for the possession of land and power. The Ostend Manifesto of the same year was the threat to take Cuba from Spain for further slave territory and political power. The rise of the Republican party was the movement of the North to secure new lands and control of the government. The Dred Scott decision was the attempt to legalize slavery in new territory. The importance of the debate by Lincoln and Douglas in 1858, lay in the fact that power was passing to a new party imbued with economic consciousness,—with sectionalism. In the campaign of 1860, both sections claimed control of the territories and made passionate appeals for the control of the government. The Civil War closed the conflict for land and political power.

DEFINITION OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The Missouri Compromise was a law passed by

Congress and signed by the President, prohibiting slavery in all the territory north of the southern boundary of Missouri and west of the Mississippi river, except Missouri, which was admitted as a slave state. About the same time Maine was admitted as a free state to balance the admission of Missouri as a slave state. For the sake of peace and union, the North voted to spread slavery over a vast and fertile country, and the South voted for freedom over a yet greater and richer domain. For the sake of the great republic, the North voted for what it thought was a moral wrong, and the South gave up what it thought was a clear legal right. The North violated its conscience, and the South sacrificed the rights of a brave and proud people. Both sides were honest, and both laid their sacrifice on the altar of the Union.

NORTH AND SOUTH COMPARED IN 1820.

The North and the South, in 1820, differed in resources and in power. There were then eleven free and eleven slave states. Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio river divided the two sections. North of this line there was a population of over 5,000,000 and south of it were over 4,500,000 persons, of whom 1,500,000 were slaves. By the three-fifths rule, the slaves counted for nearly 1,000,000 and sent twenty-six representatives to Congress. The North sent 133 and the South 90 representatives to the lower house of Congress. The two sections were equal in the Senate, and a southern slaveholder was President. The North manufactured more than \$4,000,000 worth of cotton goods, while the South manufactured less than \$1,000,000 worth of cotton. Most of the inventions

and machinery were produced and used at the North. Most of the tools and farming implements of the South were home-made and rude. For more than a thousand miles, from eastern Massachusetts to western Illinois, farm and factory, mine and manufactory, made the North a hive of industry; while from eastern Virginia to western Louisiana, stretched a thousand miles of tobacco and cotton plantations, worked by slaves and supporting a white population.

FIRST DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

These were the two sections that squarely faced each other on the question of slavery in Missouri. The contest took place at the Capitol in Washington. At the outset, the South had the advantage. The President and a majority of his cabinet were slave-holders. The Senate was strongly for the South, and most of the ablest men of the nation—Jefferson, Madison, Clay, and Calhoun—were in favor of slavery in Missouri.

The bill to admit Missouri came before Congress in February, 1819. Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, moved that no more slaves be allowed to enter Missouri, and that all slaves in that Territory should be free at the age of twenty-five years. This was the famous "Tallmadge Amendment." It passed the House, but the Senate voted against it. Mr. Scott of Missouri, said that the Tallmadge Amendment was "big with the fate of Cæsar and of Rome." Mr. Cobb of Georgia said that if the North persisted in that amendment the Union would be dissolved; and that they "were kindling a fire which all the waters of the ocean could not extinguish. It could be extinguished

only in blood." Tallmadge replied: "If a dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so! If a civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come."

PUBLIC DISCUSSION.

During the summer of 1819, Congress adjourned, and the Missouri question was taken before the people. Great excitement prevailed. Large public meetings were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Trenton, and Baltimore, and sent strong protests to Congress against allowing slavery in Missouri. Daniel Webster wrote a noble protest against extending slavery. The legislatures of six northern states protested against extending slavery in the Territories. The newspapers made the North a unit on the question. Nor was the South less united. Jefferson said that the strife fell on his ear, "like a fire-bell in the night"; but, he also said, that, "The question is a mere party trick" to give the Federalists control of the North. The Federalist party, being unpopular for having opposed the War of 1812, and needing a new and popular political war cry, chose the battle cry of freedom. The South believed it was a party trick and not the sincere sentiment of the North towards slavery. The truth is that party politics did influence the northern politicians, but beneath this surface fact lay the innate and deep-seated antagonism of the two economic sections, each of which now demanded extension and further political power.

SECOND DEBATE IN THE HOUSE.

In the winter of 1819-20, the question again came

before Congress. During this session the House sat in what is now Statuary Hall. Between the lofty columns, hung crimson curtains. Over the Speaker's chair, was a canopy of crimson silk. Chairs and desks were arranged to seat one hundred and eighty-seven members of the House. Here, for months, northern members spoke for freedom; and southern planters urged the rights of property under the Constitution. Both sides brought great determination and ability to the contest. During the debate, Mr. Ruggles of Ohio, said, "The people of Missouri fifty years hence will trace, not to a British king, not to a corrupt British Parliament, but to Congress, the evils of slavery." Mr. Cook of Illinois, said, "Unless she comes in the white robes of freedom and a pledge against the further evils of slavery, with my consent, she will not be admitted." John Tyler replied, "Rail at slavery as much as you please, I point you to the Constitution and say to you that have not only acknowledged our right to this species of property; but you have gone much further, and have bound yourselves to rivet the chains of the slave." Clay's clarion voice rang out for slavery, and once he whispered to a member that within five years the Union would break up into three confederacies—North, South, and West.

One day, when the House was in session, the clanking of chains and the crack of a whip were heard outside; and several members ran to the window and saw a villainous looking slave driver with a gang of fifteen negroes going west on Capitol hill. The slaves were handcuffed and chained to each other, and the women and children were placed at the rear of the procession. At another time, a black face in the gallery

alarmed the southern members, and debate was stopped till the listening negro was removed.

SECOND DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

But the great debate took place just across the rotunda of the Capitol in the Senate chamber. There, Rufus King of New York, made the best and strongest speech for the North. For forty years, he had held high positions in the government. He had been minister to England, had declined Washington's invitation to be Secretary of State, had sat in the great convention of 1787, and now represented the Empire State in the Senate. His manner was courtly and dignified, his language exact and pure. John Quincy Adams, who heard him, said that during his speech the great slave-holders gnawed their lips and clenched their fists. The South put forward their greatest orator in the person of William Pinkney of Maryland. He, too, had held the highest public offices. He had been attorney-general of Maryland, representative in the lower house of Congress, attorney-general of the United States, minister to several European countries, and was perhaps the ablest lawyer of the United States. He loved the law, and his one ambition was to be the finest of orators. He answered Rufus King. On the day that he spoke, members of the cabinet came to the Senate. The House of Representatives went to hear him. Foreign diplomats crowded to hear the orator who was said to rival the great Burke in wealth of imagery and eloquence. More than a hundred ladies were on the floor of the Senate. He appeared in faultless dress, wearing tinted gloves and elaborate ruffles, as the style then ran. His speech had

long been prepared, but it appeared to spring full armed from his brain as he stood the center and delight of that great assemblage. His gorgeous display of eloquence more than satisfied his brilliant audience.

THE FIRST COMPROMISE.

The South controlled the Senate, and the North, the House. Neither would yield in full to the other; and so Jesse B. Thomas, a senator from Illinois, proposed the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. He, and not Clay, was the real author of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. North of the compromise line, slavery, except in Missouri, was not allowed. South of that line, slavery was permitted.

THE SECOND COMPROMISE.

The long contest over Missouri seemed ended. Maine was at once admitted into the Union, and Missouri was directed to form a constitution. The people of Missouri, angry at the long delay, adopted a constitution which forever forbade her legislature to interfere with slavery and which prohibited free negroes from entering the state. The North broke forth in wrath at such a constitution, and vowed never to admit such a state into the Union. The South accused the North of bad faith in securing the admission of Maine, and then keeping Missouri out. There were loud threats of disunion, but Clay brought forward a second compromise which provided that Missouri should be admitted on condition that it would never enforce the constitution concerning free negroes. Missouri accepted, and was admitted as a slave state in 1821.

NULLIFICATION IN THE SOUTH.

For ten years after the Missouri Compromise, the belief spread rapidly in the South that the duties on imported goods benefited the North and injured the South. The slave states, manufacturing very little, were yet compelled to pay heavy taxes on all imported articles. Slave labor produced immense quantities of cotton, tobacco, and rice, and the undoubted interest of the South was a free trade with Europe. South Carolina well represented that interest. From that state alone, was sent more than one-fourth of all the exports from southern fields. In 1832, South Carolina passed an Ordinance of Nullification which declared the tariff laws "null, void, and no law, not binding upon this State, its officers or citizens."

THE KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.

Nullification was not a new idea in 1832. One day, in the autumn of 1798, Thomas Jefferson, William Nicholas, and George Nicholas were talking about the famous Alien and Sedition laws lately passed by Congress. Jefferson wished Virginia and Kentucky to join in a strong protest against the objectionable laws. He got from the two brothers a solemn pledge of secrecy and then wrote the "Resolutions of '98." George Nicholas presented them to the legislature of Kentucky. Jefferson sent a copy of them to Madison, who then sat in the legislature of Virginia. Both states adopted the "Resolutions," which declared that the Alien and Sedition laws were "not law, . . . void, and of no effect," and that the Constitution was a compact. The main purpose of the Resolutions was to make a united and vigorous appeal to public opin-

ion against bad laws. Nullification in 1798 meant at once a protest and an appeal, and not secession. Jefferson and his friends had no thought of disunion. The governors of Kentucky and Virginia sent copies of the Resolutions to the various states. The five New England states with New Jersey and Delaware sent back a prompt and strong dissent from nullification. Virginia built a new armory, laid new war taxes and drilled her militia; but, as not a single state had returned a favorable answer, Kentucky and Virginia, in 1799, saw fit to declare that disunion was not meant, but that only a protest had been made, and that love of the Union was strong in the two states.

DISUNION IN NEW ENGLAND.

The feeling of disunion next appeared in New England itself. For months in 1804, the political leaders there plotted for disunion. Four causes led to this: The government of the United States had bought Louisiana; had reduced the army to a handful; had almost ruined the navy; and New England was nearly powerless in public affairs. Massachusetts complained that the South had 850,000 slaves, represented by fifteen votes in Congress; and that if new states from the Louisiana Territory were admitted, the South would surely control the Union. Timothy Pickering, Aaron Burr, and other leaders advocated a new Union of the free states with New Brunswick and with Nova Scotia. But the people would not support their leaders, and the plan of disunion failed.

DISUNION IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

Lack of attachment to the Union next showed itself

west of the mountains. In 1804, after his duel with Hamilton, Burr fled to Philadelphia, where he proposed to the British minister to break up the Union, if England would furnish money and arms to the Western men. From Philadelphia, he went by way of the ocean to Georgia, thence across the state to South Carolina, and back to Washington. Here General Wilkinson introduced him to many leading men from Kentucky and Louisiana. About this time, the plan to break up the Union was told to the French minister; and shortly afterwards Burr went west to Pittsburg, down the Ohio to Blennerhasset's beautiful island home, and then southwest through the leading towns of Kentucky and Tennessee to New Orleans. Burr talked with Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and many prominent men and reported that the West was ready for separation; but when President Jefferson sent swift officers over the mountains to arrest him, and had him tried for treason, the entire plan of a Mississippi valley republic was dropped.

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

Nullification next appeared in New England in 1814. The people of that section had for years been dissatisfied with the general government, and for two years had sternly opposed the war with England. The Massachusetts legislature called the Constitution a compact, declared for nullification, and voted to raise \$1,000,000 for a state army of 10,000 men. Delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut met in convention at Hartford, and, after a session of three weeks, voted that the national government should not be permitted to retain the tariff duties

collected in New England. Behind this demand was the distinct intention to break up the Union. To give way to this demand was to bankrupt the government, and to refuse was to bring certain disunion. Fortunately the brilliant victory won by General Jackson at New Orleans and the close of the war gave the people new confidence in the Union; and the sentiment of secession not only rapidly disappeared, but became a reproach and a byword to those who had held it.

NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

As has already been said, the last, and by far the greatest attempt at nullification was made by South Carolina in 1832. Several facts led to this bold attack on the Union. In 1824, the North and West combined to pass a tariff law which was strongly opposed by the entire South. Webster himself opposed it, and John Randolph threatened resistance by force. Three years later, Robert Turnbull of South Carolina, published thirty-one essays on the "Crisis"; and advocated secession if justice should not be done to the South with respect to the tariff laws and to slavery. He preceded Calhoun as an advocate of nullification in South Carolina. In 1828, Congress passed a law still more offensive to the South, called the "Tariff of Abominations." Five states at once protested against the law. A large mass meeting in South Carolina resolved against any further trade with the West and the North. Turnbull now actively urged nullification, and the new doctrine grew in favor at the South.

THE WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE.

The "great debate" between the North and the

South on the question of nullification took place in the Senate chamber at Washington in 1830. On that memorable twenty-sixth of January, every part of the room was densely crowded with senators, various public officers, and visitors. Many members of the House were present. John C. Calhoun was president of the Senate. Several southern men were grouped together for mutual support. A number of Massachusetts men stood in one part of the chamber, confident in the patriotism and power of their great senator. Webster spoke for the North; Hayne of South Carolina, for the South. Hayne was a man of fine and lofty character, courteous, frank, and sincere. He ranked high as a lawyer and an orator. Webster's very look expressed force and power. His abundant black hair, the superb, crag-like brow, the dark, piercing, deep-set eyes, and the firm lines of the massive face, marked him as a great antagonist. Hayne, with clear statement and persuasive oratory, had said that a state could nullify a law of Congress; and that the Constitution was nothing but a compact, or a contract. Webster denied the power of peaceable nullification; and asserted that the Constitution was a great charter of government, "made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." He showed that nullification would make the Union, "the servant of four-and-twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all." His speech was a great plea for the power and continuance of the Union. He took the vague and unformed sentiment of nationality and breathed into it the breath of life. His speech was "like an amendment to the Constitution."

THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1831, IN CHARLESTON.

But the "nullifiers" were not dismayed. Shortly after the debate in the Senate, they planned to win President Jackson to their side. He was invited to a banquet in memory of Jefferson and was asked to deliver an address. He astonished the "nullifiers" by the toast which he gave—"The Federal Union, it must be preserved,"—and he spoke strongly for the Union. On July 4, 1831, the States Rights party held a great celebration in Charleston, South Carolina. A huge building in the form of a pentagon, and seating 12,000 people, had been erected for the occasion. Festoons of flowers and evergreens decorated the interior, and without were planted pine, hickory, and palmetto trees. The ladies of the city also gave a beautiful banner. Hayne delivered the oration. In the same city and on the same day, a Union meeting was held. Several thousand persons, with waving banners and bands of music, marched in procession to a church, where speeches for the Union were made, and where Washington's Farewell Address was read. President Jackson sent down a special letter which expressed his love for the Union. Dinner was served in a great building fifty feet wide and one hundred and fifty feet long. Festoons of flowers and evergreens within, and trees without, also adorned the structure. Three full-rigged vessels were placed over the front of the building. Above the archway, were the words, "Don't give up the ship."

NULLIFICATION AND COMPROMISE.

In November, 1832, 162 delegates met in convention, in South Carolina, and declared certain tariff laws,

“null, void, and no law.” The state armed and drilled 20,000 men, and built arsenals and depots for supplies. In December of the same year, President Jackson issued a proclamation to the rebellious state in which he denied the power of nullification, and warned South Carolina to yield. Hayne, who was now governor of that state, issued a proclamation defying the President. Calhoun took Hayne’s place in the Senate of the United States to defend nullification. The President now asked Congress for extra power to enforce the tariff laws. This was granted by the “Force Bill,” which became a law in March, 1833. In the meantime, Henry Clay proposed and secured the passage of a new tariff law which was acceptable to the South. In view of the firm stand of the President, and of the compromise by Clay, South Carolina yielded, and repealed her ordinance of nullification.

NET RESULT.

The general result of the whole controversy was a victory for the Union. As a protest against unpopular laws, nullification had succeeded; as a principle, it had failed. It never afterwards was used even as a form of protest; but the doctrines behind it—that the Constitution is a compact and that each state is sovereign—spread throughout the entire South, until the opening of the Civil War.

NAT TURNER.

In 1831, a band of negroes in Virginia, under the lead of Nat Turner, a negro slave about thirty-one years old, rose against their masters, murdered fifty-five persons and became the terror of the whole State.

In 1830. his master hired him out to a wealthy planter, but he soon ran away. He had early learned to read and write, and also became deeply religious. On one occasion he had a vivid vision of a great combat between white spirits and black spirits far up in the sky. He thought himself a prophet and believed God had given him a mission to free the negroes. He avoided a crowd, was dreamy, and never laughed.

An eclipse in 1831, seemed to Turner a visible sign from heaven to fulfill his mission. He held a secret meeting with five other negroes, and they agreed to spare neither age nor sex. The band which soon numbered over sixty, made a raid of about twenty miles through Southampton county, and murdered fifty-five white persons. Companies of white men quickly formed and the whole southeastern part of Virginia was in arms. A reward of \$1,100 was offered for Turner's capture. For six weeks he lay hid under a pile of rails, but was at last caught. He and twelve other negroes were tried, convicted, and hanged. This murderous raid sent a thrill of terror into every southern home. Numerous plots in other parts of the South were also reported, and every planter felt that southern society rested on a volcano. Virginia passed severe laws against the negroes, forbade their meetings and ordered the arrest of their preachers.

THE SOUTH AROUSED.

This terrible fear explains, in part, why the South so bitterly opposed all the efforts of the northern abolitionists. In 1835, President Jackson asked Congress to close the mails to all papers, pamphlets, and books which might lead to slave insurrection. John C. Cal-

houn introduced such a bill in the Senate, where it was lost by only six votes. The mail bags were broken open in South Carolina, and a bonfire was made of the abolition documents. Petitions to Congress on the subject of slavery met with violent opposition. Ex-President John Quincy Adams presented to the House hundreds of petitions against slavery. One day, he presented 511, representing 300,000 persons at the North. The whole House was in an uproar. Cries of, "Censure him!" "Expel him!" arose. After three days of passionate debate and violent abuse, Adams got the floor and made a great speech for the right of petition. But the House adopted the "Atherton gag rule," which provided that all petitions be laid on the table, "without being debated, printed, or referred." This rule held from 1836 to 1844.

BENJAMIN LUNDY.

The first leading abolitionist was Benjamin Lundy. From 1820 to 1830, he traveled over 25,000 miles, 5,000 miles afoot, gave hundreds of addresses, and visited nineteen states, Canada, Hayti, Texas, and Mexico. He organized many abolition societies, and published a paper called, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." By his efforts, the first national abolition convention was held at Baltimore, in 1826. He died in 1839, after having given nearly his whole life to free the slaves.

GARRISON AND THE LIBERATOR.

Of all the abolitionists, none stands out more clearly than William Lloyd Garrison. In 1830, he was tried and convicted in Baltimore for publishing an article on slavery. He was setenced to pay a fine of \$50, and not

being able to do so, was lodged in jail for seven weeks. While in prison, he wrote a fierce letter against slavery. After leaving Baltimore, he gave several lectures on his way from Philadelphia to Boston. At that city, on January 1, 1831, he issued the *Liberator*, a very remarkable paper. On its front page was the picture of an auction where "slaves, horses and other cattle" were offered for sale; and near this was seen a whipping post at which a slave was being flogged. In the background, was the Capitol at Washington with the flag unfurled above the dome. In the first issue of the *Liberator*, Garrison wrote: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. . . . I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." In 1835, at a meeting held by some abolitionists in Boston, a mob seized him, put a rope around his body, dragged him through the streets, and would have taken his life had not the mayor rescued him, and placed him in jail for protection. When President Tyler visited Boston, Garrison published two addresses. In one, he asked the President to free his slaves; in the other, he addressed the slaves of the South as follows: "If you come to us and are hungry, we will feed you; if thirsty, we will give you drink; if naked, we will clothe you; if sick, we will administer to your necessities; if in prison, we will visit you; if you will need a hiding place from the face of the pursuer, we will provide one that even bloodhounds will not search out."

The *Liberator* had a small circulation, but it roused the wrath of every southern planter. South Carolina offered a reward of \$1,500 to convict any person

found circulating the *Liberator* in that state. Nor was this paper without effect at the North. Nine years after the first issue, there were 2,000 abolition societies with 200,000 members enrolled.

MURDER OF LOVEJOY.

While Garrison was stirring the South to its center, Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Illinois, paid with his life his devotion to the cause of abolition. Lovejoy was born in Maine, and was graduated from a small college in that state. In 1826, he went to St. Louis, Missouri, as a teacher, but soon became the editor of a religious paper. Later, he removed to Alton, Illinois. While he was here a case in the courts stirred his indignation. A negro had aided two quarreling sailors to escape from an officer. For this, the negro was arrested; and on being told that his punishment would be five years in prison, he broke away from the officers, and stabbed one of them fatally. He was recaptured, but was taken from the jail by a mob and slowly burned to death at the stake. For twenty minutes, the flames coiled and hissed about him, and he died after the most frightful agony. Judge Lawless told the grand jury to do nothing with the murderers. Lovejoy in his paper commented severely on the heartless judge. A public meeting was soon called to stop the further issues of Lovejoy's paper. To the surprise of the crowd, Lovejoy appeared at the meeting. He told them that his conscience would not let him stop in his course, and that he spoke only for truth and justice. His speech made a great impression, but it was not lasting.

About this time, he ordered a new printing press,

which reached Alton in the morning of November 7, 1837. The mob blew horns to notify all that it had come. At ten o'clock in the evening, about thirty men came out of a saloon, went to the printing office and demanded the press. Lovejoy, with seven others within the building, refused. The mob then threw stones through the windows, and both sides fired shots. Soon was heard the cry, "Burn them out!" and a ladder was brought for that purpose. Lovejoy, just as he was coming out of the building, was at once shot and killed. The mob then broke the press in pieces, and threw the type and fragments into the Mississippi river. The next day, the body of Lovejoy was borne home with scoffing to his wife and children. He lies buried on a bluff overlooking the great river.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

News of this tragedy soon traveled over the North. W. E. Channing, the noted minister of Boston, together with one hundred other citizens, called a meeting at Faneuil Hall, on December 8, 1837. A great audience was present. James T. Austin, the attorney-general of Massachusetts, spoke and said that Lovejoy "died as the food dieth." Wendell Phillips sat in that audience. He was unknown, but he quickly stepped to the platform, and with flashing eye and intense force he said of Austin, "for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of the Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up." He then followed with a speech which placed him at once in the front rank of American orators.

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The abolitionists were very active all through the North from 1830 to 1840. Thousands of speeches were made, and millions of documents sent through the mails for the cause of abolition. Lowell and Whittier wrote poems for the new cause. Emerson said the abolitionists, "might be wrong-headed, but they were wrong-headed in the right direction." But active as they were, they formed only a small part of the population. Not one man in ten was an abolitionist. At first, they were hated and despised. Nearly all classes of society were against them. They were regarded as fanatics and disturbers of the peace. Churches and halls were refused them. Mobs broke in on their meetings and stoned their speakers. But, gradually, the tide turned. The high character and purpose of the abolitionists compelled a respectful hearing, and with this hearing thousands of new abolitionists sprang up.

THE LIBERTY PARTY: 1840-1843.

Out of all this agitation by the abolitionists, arose a new political party. In 1840, the anti-slavery men held a national convention in New York to form the Liberty Party. Delegates were present from all the New England states, together with New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. The convention voted to nominate a President and Vice-President, and urged all members to vote for township, county, and state officers who were pledged against slavery. The new party cast only 6,784 votes for James G. Birney, in 1840. But there were in fact 70,000 abolitionists then in the North. Nine-tenths of these did not vote for their party on account of dis-

agreement as to the methods and principles. During the next three years, the various factions in the Liberty Party settled their differences, and in 1843, a thousand delegates, representing every free state, except New Hampshire, met in convention at Buffalo, New York, and nominated James G. Birney for President. He received over 62,000 votes. In no state did the abolitionists number more than one-tenth of the voters. But the noteworthy fact of the campaign of 1844 was that the Liberty Party threw the election into the hands of the Democrats, who had openly declared for more slave territory. This result was brought about in the state of New York, where Polk had received only 5,000 more votes than Clay. In that state, the Liberty Party had received 15,000 votes and these were drawn largely from the Whig Party. This result brought forth a storm of indignation from the Whigs, and the Liberty Party soon disbanded.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF TEXAS.

In 1821, the Spanish colonists of Mexico separated their country from Spain, and three years later set up a republican form of government. Texas was one of the states of Mexico; and had a mixed and scattered population of Spaniards, Indians and Americans. In 1830, the President of Mexico issued his decree that further immigration from the United States should stop, that convicts from the prisons of Mexico should be settled in Texas, and that heavy taxes should be paid to the Mexican government. With scarcely 2,000 able-bodied men, Texas at once revolted, and in 1833, adopted a constitution of its own. Three years later, Mexico tried to set aside the Texan self-government;

but the people again rebelled and declared their independence on March 2, 1836. The next year the United States, France, England, and Belgium recognized the new republic of Texas. In 1836, the total population of Texas was only 100,000, and but 3,370 votes were cast that year for officers of the government. The army had but 2,200 men, and the navy consisted of four vessels carrying twenty-nine cannons. The money was nearly worthless, there were no roads, no post-offices, no jails, no courts.

SAM HOUSTON.

But with all these disadvantages, the bold Texan rangers were more than a match for the Mexican soldiers sent against them. Under the brilliant leadership of Sam Houston, their independence was maintained for years. General Sam Houston was a man after Jackson's own heart. He was born in Virginia, but removed to Tennessee. Before he was thirty-five, he was a representative in Congress, and governor of the state. On account of domestic trouble, he resigned the governorship, fled to the Indians, adopted their habits, became a chief, and roamed for three years with them on the western plains. He joined the Texans in their struggle for independence, became their general, was elected President of the new republic, and when Texas sought admission to the United States, he appeared in the Capitol at Washington, bearing in his hand the gift of his great state.

NO "PLOT" TO ANNEX TEXAS.

Texas had no wish to be a free and independent nation. Bands of settlers from Louisiana and Missis-

issippi had gone into Texas, and the sentiment was strongly in favor of admission into the Union. The plan to annex Texas was the logical result of westward expansion. No proof exists of any "plot" to bring Texas into the Union. A Texas envoy had urged President Van Buren to declare for annexation; but fearing opposition, the President refused. Soon afterwards, the Senate voted against annexation. In 1837, Webster voiced the opinion at the North in opposition to the admission of Texas.

In the summer of 1843, the plan for annexation was in full progress. President Tyler was in favor of the plan. Andrew Jackson used his wide influence for it. The legislatures of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi declared for annexation. In March, 1844, John C. Calhoun was made Secretary of State; and by his management the plan moved forward by leaps and bounds. In April, he promised the army and navy of the United States to aid Texas against Mexico. In the same month, he sent a treaty of annexation to the Senate, which voted against the admission of Texas. The question was at once thrown into the presidential campaign of 1844.

THE WHIG PARTY IN 1844.

The Whig national convention met at Baltimore on May 1. Thousands were present, and Henry Clay was nominated for President by acclamation. In April, he had written a letter against annexation. As the campaign went on, he became alarmed. He was surrounded by southern men who wished more slave territory. In August, he wrote his famous "Alabama" letter, in which he stated that he wished to an-

nex Texas "upon just and fair terms," and that "the subject of slavery ought not to affect the question one way or the other." This offended the Northern Whigs, and defeated him. That letter drove enough Whigs into the Liberty Party in New York to carry the state for the Democratic Party; and on New York hinged the election for President.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 1844.

The Democratic national convention met at Baltimore on May 27. It boldly declared for "the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period"; and Polk was nominated for President. After the election, the Democrats claimed that the people had declared for annexation, and Congress, at its next session in December, 1845, admitted Texas as a state.

CAUSE OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

A boundary line between Texas and Mexico was at once the subject of dispute. The United States claimed all the land to the Rio Grande, and Mexico held that the Neuces river was the rightful boundary. Texas had, indeed, claimed this strip, but the claim was only asserted and never established. Garret Davis, of Kentucky, said in the House at Washington, in 1846, that "No Texan magistrate was ever seen, no Texan law was ever obeyed, no Texan jurisdiction was ever asserted, no Texan rule in any form, in this extent of territory, was known. All was Mexican from the beginning." President Polk ordered 4,000 troops into the disputed territory. A Mexican army crossed the Rio Grande, and demanded the withdrawal of the American troops. In April, 1846, sixty-three dra-

goons of the United States army were attacked by a larger force of Mexican troops, and seventeen Americans were killed and wounded and the others forced to surrender. Swift messengers carried the news to Washington; and on May 11, 1846, President Polk sent to Congress a message in which he stated, "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States. . . . and shed American blood upon American soil. War exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself." Two days later Congress passed a law giving the President complete power to call out, arm, organize and equip 50,000 men. The law declared that "war existed by the act of Mexico."

THE MEXICAN WAR.

For the next two years the armies of the United States passed rapidly from one brilliant victory to another, and at last stood conquerors in the City of Mexico itself. President Polk proclaimed peace on July 4, 1848. The war had lasted two years, had cost \$130,000,000, and had added a vast domain to the Union. It had been denounced in the North and East, but was popular in the South and West. "The glory of the war was the glory of the South," and that section fully believed that a great empire had been added to the area of slavery. In 1845, Macaulay, in Parliament, said of the United States, "That nation is the champion and upholder of slavery. They seek to extend slavery with more energy than was ever exerted by any other nation to diffuse civilization."

THE RESULT.

With an army in the Mexican capital, the United

States compelled that nation to give up 900,000 square miles of its territory. Every foot of that great area was free from slavery. The Mexicans anxiously asked that the treaty should forbid slavery in the ceded territory. The representative of the United States told them that if the land, "were increased ten-fold in value, and, in addition to that, covered a foot thick with pure gold, on the single condition that slavery should be forever excluded," he would not, "entertain the offer for a moment, nor even think of sending it to his government. No American President would dare to submit such a treaty to the Senate."

THE WILMOT PROVISIO.

The war had not been in progress three months when both North and South clearly saw that territory would be taken from Mexico. A few men at the North resolutely determined that not a foot of that territory should be given to slavery. In August, 1846, when Congress was considering a bill to put \$2,000,000 into the President's hands to secure more land from Mexico, David Wilmot moved a proviso to the bill, making it "an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from Mexico, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist therein."

THE RESULT.

"His amendment made his name familiar at once throughout the length and breadth of the Republic. No question had arisen since the slavery agitation of 1820 that was so elaborately debated. The Wilmot Proviso absorbed the attention of Congress for a long-

er time than the Missouri Compromise; it produced a wider and deeper excitement in the country, and it threatened a more serious danger to the peace and integrity of the Union." The Wilmot Proviso did not become a law, but it raised up a powerful anti-slavery party in the North.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 1848.

The Democrats and Whigs were the two great political parties in the election of 1848. The Democratic national convention met at Baltimore, on May 22. New York sent two opposing delegations—called the Hunkers and the Barnburners. The Barnburners were pledged for the Wilmot Proviso. When the convention voted to admit both delegations, and so offend neither, both withdrew. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was then nominated for President on a platform which carefully avoided the slavery question.

THE WHIG PARTY: 1848.

The Whig national convention met at Philadelphia, in June, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for President on a platform which was silent on the slavery question. Webster used his great influence to elect Taylor.

THE FREE SOIL PARTY: 1848.

In August, the Free Soil Party met in a great convention at Buffalo, New York. Four hundred and sixty-five delegates represented eighteen states. They nominated Martin Van Buren for President, and adopted a bold and clear anti-slavery platform. They declared for "free soil to a free people," and that "Con-

gress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy." They threw out a challenge to the South by the declaration, "We accept the issue which the slave-power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is, no more slave states and no more slave territory. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed."

THE ELECTION.

In the election that followed, the Barnburners in New York withdrew their support from Cass and voted for Van Buren. This gave the thirty-six electoral votes of the state to Taylor, and on New York again hinged the election of the President. Taylor and Cass each carried fifteen states. The Free Soil Party did not carry a single state, but it turned every mind to the great question of slavery.

POLITICAL EXCITEMENT DURING 1849.

During the year 1849 a steady rise of excitement marked both North and South. Almost every legislature in the southern states had declared against the Wilmot Proviso, and every northern state, except Iowa, had declared in favor of it. In January, 1849, over eighty southern members of Congress at Washington met in secret with doors locked, and adopted an address to the South. They declared Congress could not forbid slavery in the Territories, and they accused the North of violating the fugitive slave law. About the same time, Robert Toombs, of Georgia, voiced the feeling of the South when he said to the

North, "We have the right to call on you to give your blood to maintain the slaves of the South in bondage. Gentlemen, deceive not yourselves; you cannot deceive others. This is a pro-slavery government. Slavery is stamped on its heart—the Constitution."

LEADERS IN CONGRESS: 1849-1850.

Congress met, amid growing excitement, on Monday, December 3, 1849. Both sections had sent up men of the most marked ability. There appeared Jefferson Davis, the future President of a slave republic; Sam. Houston, of brilliant and romantic history; Thomas Benton, for thirty years a senator from Missouri; Pierre Soulé, the eloquent senator from Louisiana; William H. Seward, the statesman of anti-slavery men; Salmon P. Chase, the aggressive advocate of freedom; and Stephen A. Douglas, who was, perhaps, the strongest debater ever in Congress. But above all these, appeared three men with greater reputation, wider influence, and longer experience in public affairs. Each was over seventy years of age, each had had a national reputation for thirty years, and each was known in Europe and America. These three men were Webster, Clay, and Calhoun.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Webster was the ablest of the three. For years more than 50,000 lawyers had acknowledged him as their leader. No man stood higher as a statesman. He had entered public life in 1813 as a member of the House of Representatives, had served nineteen years as a senator from Massachusetts, and had been Secretary of State. His long experience in public affairs,

and his high reputation as a lawyer, as an orator, and as a statesman, gave him a wide and strong influence in the thirty states. He was especially admired by the higher circles, and his position on the slavery question was studied by millions. On March 7, he spoke on that subject, and threw the whole weight of his influence for the Compromise of 1850. He struck a giant's blow against freedom, but he sincerely believed the Union was in danger, and that to preserve it the North must suppress its anti-slavery spirit. A few days later, he spoke from the balcony of the Revere House in Boston, and declared he should "take no step backward," and that the people of the North, "must learn to conquer their prejudices."

HENRY CLAY.

Henry Clay had entered public life about the same time as Webster, and had held the same offices. He had twice been a candidate for the Presidency, and no man then living had such a large and devoted personal following. For eight years, he had been out of public life, but when the legislature of Kentucky unanimously elected him to the Senate, he came to Washington strong in patriotism and hope, and fertile in plans to reunite the sections. He was in his seventy-third year, and at times required the assistance of friends to ascend the steps of the Capitol. On January 29, he presented his plan in the Senate. A great audience had assembled to hear him. Richly dressed ladies, visitors from Baltimore, members of Congress, gathered to hear the man they loved. He spoke on, hour after hour, for the great Union. His tall form, now bent with years, his white hair, his face so expressive of

every emotion, added pathos to his eloquent plea for his country.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

John C. Calhoun began public life about the same time as Webster and Clay. He had served as representative and senator in Congress, had been Secretary of State, and Vice-President of the United States. His was the master mind in the effort at nullification. He said in 1848, "If you should ask me the word which I would wish engraven on my tombstone, it is 'nullification.' " He said slavery was "a good—a positive good." His mind had become possessed of one idea, and that was, that slavery was the necessary bed-rock foundation of southern prosperity. On March 4, 1850, he appeared in the Senate. Sombre, aged, haggard, gloomy, wrapped in his cloak and too ill to speak, he listened, as a friend read the speech which he had carefully prepared. It declared unalterably for slavery and the rights of the States.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850.

The Compromise of 1850 embraced five distinct laws passed by Congress at different times during the year. These laws were as follows:

1. California was admitted as a free state.
2. New Mexico and Utah were organized as Territories without mention of slavery.
3. The western boundary of Texas was established, and that state was paid \$10,000,000 to give up its claim on part of New Mexico.
4. The slave trade, but not slavery, was abolished in the District of Columbia.

5. A new and more effective fugitive slave law was passed.

Except the fugitive slave law, the Compromise of 1850 was fair to the North. With that exception, the Compromise was accepted in good faith by Whigs and Democrats, by North and South. Most of the leaders spoke of it as a "final" settlement of the slavery question.

CALIFORNIA A FREE STATE.

For a time, the South was disposed to insist on slavery in California. Gold was discovered there in 1848. The next year, more than 80,000 persons went to the El Dorado, and by November, 1849, the population was above 100,000. Two-thirds of these were Americans, and the rest were from Europe, Mexico, and South America. Government was quickly organized, and the next year California asked admission as a free state. The only two papers there were outspoken against slavery. On September 9, 1850, Congress admitted California as a free state.

SLAVE TRADE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Both slavery and the slave trade existed in the District of Columbia in 1789. Twelve years later, Congress enacted that the laws of Maryland relating to slavery should be valid in that part of the District north of the Potomac river. During the next fifty years, Washington became a regular market where slaves were bought and sold in large numbers. Gangs of handcuffed slaves were frequently seen on the streets. On the payment of \$400 to the city government, regular traders were licensed to buy and sell

slaves in the District. The law of 1850 abolished this abominable traffic, but did not forbid slavery itself.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

To the North, the fugitive slave law was, by far, the most offensive of the five acts of the great Compromise. This law empowered each of the circuit courts of the United States to appoint a commissioner for a given district. This commissioner was a kind of judge to determine the freedom or slavery of the fugitive. No jury was allowed the runaway, nor was he permitted to testify for his own liberty. The affidavit of the owner, or his agent, was sufficient to return the prisoner into bondage. The law even made the commissioner's fee higher for adjudging the fugitive to be a slave rather than a free man. If the prisoner escaped, the United States marshal was liable to the owner for the value of the slave. In case of such a rescue, the bystanders were, by law, compelled to aid the marshal.

The effect of this law was immediate. Thousands of negroes at the North at once went to Canada. Numerous arrests were soon made, mobs secured the prisoners, and violation of the law was openly advocated.

COTTON IS KING: 1820-1860.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND.

Several inventions in England had very great effect upon cotton culture in the United States. In 1769, Arkwright made the first spinning jenny, and fourteen years later, Watt discovered the power of steam to

move machinery. In 1785, Cartwright invented the power loom, and the same year, Bell used cylinders for printing calicoes. During the next fifteen years the cotton trade doubled in England, and the factory system was well under way. By 1850, there were 2,650 cotton mills in England, employing nearly half a million persons, and steam vessels now carried to these mills yearly more than 3,000,000 bales of cotton from the United States. This rising demand increased the supply of cotton. Money was plenty in the South, and every year saw an increased cotton crop.

The first cotton mill in the United States was operated at Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787. In 1860, there were nearly a thousand mills in the North, and a considerable part of the southern crop found its way to New England by sea or by rail. Thus the mills of England and New England enormously increased the cotton culture of the South.

THE COTTON BELT.

The first cotton grown in the colonies was produced at Jamestown, in 1607; but even at the time of the American Revolution, the crop was of no importance. In 1793 it was raised only along the tide-water region from Virginia to Georgia. In that year, Whitney's invention of the cotton gin at once raised the value and importance of the crop. This machine quickly and cheaply removed the seed from the cotton. It was not many years before every planter had his own gin, and was able to market a far greater supply. The cotton belt spread rapidly westward, but even in 1821, the four Atlantic seaboard states produced two-thirds of all that was grown. During the next forty years, the

cotton fields spread over the vast and fertile lands of Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Louisiana and Mississippi were called "The Cotton Garden of the World." Cotton now became the great crop of the South, and Ex-Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, said, "Cotton is King."

LAND KILLING.

The extension of the cotton belt was accompanied by an increasing number of waste cotton fields. No fertilizers were used. The field was "cropped" year after year, and this "land killing" became the rule. So rapidly had this gone on, that in 1850, less than one-third of the lands of the two Carolinas and Georgia was improved, while in all New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey more than two-thirds of the land was under cultivation.

COTTON GROWING.

When a planter needed a new field for cotton, his slaves girdled the larger trees on a piece of woodland, cut down the smaller ones, cleared away the land, and loosely cultivated the soil. Corn was then raised one or two years. After this, the soil was more thoroughly cultivated, and thrown into ridges about four feet apart. These ridges were then split open, and about two bushels of seed to the acre were planted in them. The planting took place from February to May and was generally done by women and children. When the plant was several inches high, the rows were thinned out so as to form hills about twelve inches apart. The field was then carefully hoed every twenty days, and then worked over from three to five times

before the picking began. The first blooms appeared in May and June, but the picking season lasted from August to December. All the slaves—men, women and children—picked the cotton, and the amount gathered by each slave varied from fifty, to five hundred pounds per day. The tools used on a cotton plantation were of the rudest kind. On a South Carolina plantation of 2,700 acres, and employing 254 slaves, only \$1,262 was invested in tools and wagons. The rule was to “wear out” the tools. The crop was taken to market in rude wagons or carts or by flatboats on the river. The profits of cotton-raising were often thirty-five per cent.

PLANTATION LIFE: 1820-1860.

THE STately HOME.

The stately home of the master and mistress was the center of interest of the whole plantation. Placed on a hill in a woodland of noble oaks and hickories, it commanded a view of stream, and valley, and fields of corn, and cotton. At a distance, its white columns and Greek portico seemed embosomed in a mass of green. Over all the landscape was thrown the exquisite charm of the long summer of the South. The house was usually a story and a half in height, with fine columns and portico in front, a wide hallway, and large rooms. Names, such as Mount Vernon, Monticello, Arlington, Ashland, were given to these hospitable homes.

THE MASTER.

The master was a fine type of manhood. His character appeared in two distinct ways, and in both he commanded respect. First of all, he was the owner

of hundreds and often thousands of acres of land, and had the pride of ownership. He was the master of numerous slaves, and daily accustomed to implicit obedience. He acquired a fixed habit of command. He was generally a public man, and held a local, state, or national position of trust. His integrity was unquestioned, his courage undoubted. But, in contrast with these stronger traits of his character, was his courteous and refined bearing to his family and friends. He was, by instinct and training, a gentleman. His chivalry to women, his respect to men, his kindness in his home, his unfailing and warm hospitality to his friends, his ability in conversation, his dignified yet easy bearing, gave refinement and courtesy to southern life and manners.

THE MISTRESS.

The mistress ruled supreme in the home. Loved by her husband, adored by her children, and worshiped by the servants, her life was one of goodness and devotion. Often, at night, among the servants, she was caring for the sick, giving sympathy and advice, and providing comforts and necessities. She took pride in the flower garden and made it the especial object of her care and taste. In the social circle, she was the center of attention and courtesy.

THE SERVANTS.

The "servants" performed the various kinds of labor around the house. They were generally better sheltered, clothed, and fed, than the "field hands." Seeing much of a refined home, they caught something of its courtesy and manner. One was a coachman, another

er a gardener, a carpenter, a cook, or a waiter; but among all these, the old "Mammy" held the place of honor and affection. She was a kind of mother, nurse, and attendant to the master's children. She had considerable authority, and might punish, but she usually ruled her "chillun" by affectionate tenderness and care.

THE FIELD HANDS.

The "field hands" performed the harder labor of the plantation. They often worked sixteen or eighteen hours a day, and took a noon rest of an hour. Their work in the rice, sugar, and cotton fields was hard and hopeless. A slave, able to pick four or five hundred pounds of cotton a day, was called a "cotton nigger." Each slave in the field was rated as a "full hand," "half hand," or "quarter hand," and was expected to perform only such given amount of work.

THE NEGRO QUARTERS.

When the day's labor was ended, the slaves returned to the "negro quarters." These were their cabins in a motley cluster at some distance from the planter's home. These cabins were generally dirty and wretched. In Mississippi and Louisiana, each one consisted of a single room about twenty feet square. The furniture was of the rudest and poorest kind. Each family was allowed a "truck patch" to raise vegetables and poultry, and with these the slave bought whiskey, tobacco and Sunday finery.

FOOD AND CLOTHING OF THE SLAVES.

The food and clothing of the slaves consisted of the barest necessities. Forty-six slave-holders on sugar

plantations in Louisiana reported that the total cost of food and clothing for an able-bodied slave was only \$30 per year. One Louisiana planter paid, in one year, \$750 for food and hospital service for one hundred negroes, or two cents a day for each slave. The regular food allowed was four quarts of cornmeal and one quart of molasses each week. Besides this, vegetables were often given by the master or raised by the slave; but meat was not used. Poor as the food was, it was enough in quantity; but the convicts of the North had greater variety. If the food was bad, the slave's clothes were worse. He was often without hat or shoes, and was covered with rags and dirt. He was, in a double sense, the "mud-sill" of Southern society.

THE WHITE OVERSEER.

In ten states, in 1850, the average size of the plantation was 401 acres; and on nearly all the large estates an overseer was hired to direct the labor of the "field hands." He was paid from \$200 to \$600 a year, and often received much more. He was valued in proportion to the amount of work which he could get from the negroes. He was given despotic power over the life and labor of the slave. He was generally ignorant, often drunken, and by nature brutal. Though white and free, he was held in scorn by the planter and his family. He appointed a negro driver, who was held responsible for the labor of a small gang of slaves. This driver was usually a large, powerful negro, and carried a heavy whip.

Flogging was common, but was not inflicted in wanton cruelty. The overseer or driver often said, "If you don't work better, I will flog you;" but as a

rule, blows were not given except for idleness or petty offenses. Yet if an overseer killed a slave, nothing was done; for the negro was only property, and not a person in the sight of the law.

THE SALE OF SLAVES.

Slaves were sold like cattle, but care was often taken that families should not be separated. "Cash for Negroes," "Negroes for Sale," "Negroes Wanted," were common advertisements in the papers. Mules and negroes were frequently advertised together. By actual count, sixty-four newspapers in two weeks, in 1852, offered for sale 4,100 slaves. One man in Richmond advertised his farm and forty slaves, that he might raise money to become a missionary. In the larger towns, were slave prisons, where the negroes were locked until sold. When brought into the room where the buyers were, they were placed upon a low platform, and their teeth, hair, eyes, limbs, weight, and health were carefully examined. Before the war, General Sherman saw in New Orleans young girls thus treated on the auction block, and he never forgot the impression then made. Lincoln came out of such a room, with an oath like a prayer, to strike a great blow at slavery some day. But, in general, the slaves were indifferent at the auction block. They even took pride in their price, which rose from \$325, in 1840, to \$500, in 1860.

THE DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

A regular and important trade was carried on between the border states of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the Gulf states. In one year

alone—1836—Virginia sold to the South and West 40,000 slaves, valued at \$24,000,000. In the same year, Mississippi bought 250,000 negroes. The slave had a horror of being “sold South,” and to prevent escapes, strong depots were built with locks and bars, and provided with thumbscrews for punishment. Gangs of handcuffed negroes were often seen on the roads leading South.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

The law of 1808 forbade the importation of slaves from any foreign country to the United States under a penalty of \$20,000 and confiscation of the vessel caught in the trade; but the law was notoriously violated. In 1820, southern men estimated the number smuggled in, at from thirteen to fifteen thousand a year. In 1859, Stephen A. Douglas said he had no doubt that 15,000 had that year been brought into the United States.

OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW: 1850-1860.

Within eight days after its passage, the fugitive slave law of 1850 was set in operation. Only a few typical examples will be given, but these will show the terror or the indignation excited by the execution of the law. During ten years, numberless outrages and tragedies followed this last attempt to enforce slave labor.

While at work in New York, James Hamlet, a negro slave from Maryland, was seized, given a hearing before the commissioner, adjudged to be a slave, handcuffed, forced into a carriage and taken to Baltimore,

where he was placed in a slave pen kept by the notorious Hope Slatter.

THE JERRY RESCUE.

Another case in the same state aroused deep indignation. For several years, a negro, Jerry McHenry, had lived at Syracuse, New York. On October 1, 1851, he was seized, placed and held in a wagon, by force, and taken to the jail. That evening a score of the best citizens broke open the door of the jail, and rescued the slave. For several days, McHenry was concealed, and finally taken to Canada. For this offense, eighteen of the leading men of Syracuse were arrested, and taken before the United States court at Albany. On their day of hearing, one hundred prominent citizens went with them to Albany, and William H. Seward gave bail for them. Nothing further came of the case.

THE SIMMS CASE.

Six months before the "Jerry rescue," Thomas M. Simms was seized, under the law, and lodged in the jail of the court-house in Boston. To prevent a rescue, heavy chains were fastened around the jail. The next morning, the judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts had to stoop as they passed under these chains of slavery. At five o'clock in the morning, the slave was placed in a hollow square formed by three hundred policemen, marched to the wharf, and sent to Georgia. While Simms was in jail, Wendell Phillips spoke on Boston Common against the outrage, and a few days later an indignation meeting was held in Faneuil Hall.

AT WILKESBARRE.

A deputy marshal and three Virginians came to Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, and found a mulatto employed at a hotel. They struck him on the back of the head with a club, but he fought them off with terrible energy with a handcuff which they had quickly put on his right wrist. With his hand covered with blood, he rushed into the Susquehanna River, saying, "I will be drowned rather than taken alive." While in the water up to his neck, they repeatedly shot at him; and finally struck his head, and the blood ran over his face. A crowd by this time gathered, the wounded man came out of the water, and, as he lay dying on the shore, one of his pursuers remarked, "Dead niggers were not worth taking South." Even after this, as he revived, he was driven a second time a mob soon broke open the jail, and sent the slave to Canada. The rescuers were not arrested, and the Su- into the river; but the crowd interfered, and the pursuers fled. Later, they were arrested for this crime, but Judge Grier of the United States Supreme Court discharged the Virginians, and said no blame attached to them.

AT RACINE, WISCONSIN.

In 1854 a fugitive slave named Glover was arrested at Racine, Wisconsin. He was knocked down, put in a wagon, driven quickly to Milwaukee, and lodged in jail. A mass meeting at Racine resolved that Glover should have a fair trial, and one hundred citizens went to Milwaukee, where they learned that a meeting of five thousand people had appointed a vigilance committee to see that Glover was given a fair trial. But

preme Court of the state decided that the fugitive slave law was unconstitutional.

EFFECT OF THE LAW.

The execution of the fugitive slave law produced a long succession of tragedies; but for every fugitive returned to the South, hundreds of men at the North joined the anti-slavery party. The law was openly defied, and such men as Emerson said it would, and should be violated. Ten northern states soon passed "Personal Liberty Laws," which insured a fair trial, and prohibited the use of the state jails to the fugitives. Only two states, California and New Jersey, provided by law for the capture and return of slaves, and even there, public opinion often broke state and national laws and set the captive free.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD: 1840-1860.

THE MAIN LINE.

The "Underground Railroad" was the name given to the ways and means by which thousands of slaves escaped to the North. There were three main systems to this "Railroad." The first set of lines enabled slaves from Missouri to escape northeast across Illinois. The second system led north across Ohio and western Pennsylvania. The third system went north across eastern Pennsylvania. Ohio had the greatest number of these lines and Oberlin was the most noted station. Twenty lines crossing that state enabled more negroes to escape than by either of the other systems. Many lines converged to Philadelphia, and thence diverged to the north. One line went from Washington to Albany; and another, from Gettysburg

to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and then by way of Elmira and Niagara Falls to Canada.

PASSENGERS, STATIONS, AND CONDUCTORS.

The slaves thus escaping north came mainly from Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. They ran from the field, kitchen, and shop to some forest or swamp. They traveled by night, guided by the north star. Often followed by bloodhounds, always in danger, trudging on in the darkness, concealed by day in boxes, or barns, or brush, footsore, weary, penniless, hungry, stealing food rather than trust other slaves, they reached, at last, some station on the underground railroad. Such a station was some farmer's house where the fugitive received food, clothing, and concealment, and was then taken in some box, or load of hay, or by night to the next station. Canada offered the only place of true safety, but thousands of negroes settled in the northern states and were protected by public opinion.

NORTHERN LEADERS.

There is on record a list of three thousand and eleven persons who actively aided the negroes to escape along the various lines of the underground railroad. Among the most eminent were: Salmon P. Chase, who was called the "attorney-general for fugitives," and who was afterwards in Lincoln's cabinet; Rutherford B. Hayes, later President of the United States; Joshua Giddings, for long years in Congress as the enemy of slavery; Theodore Parker, the great minister of Boston; Thaddeus Stevens, one of the foremost lawyers of Pennsylvania; Frederick Doug-

lass, the well-known orator. Gerrit Smith, of Wilmington, Delaware, aided two thousand seven hundred slaves to escape, and paid eight thousand dollars in fines for violation of the law. Levi Coffin, of Ohio, aided nearly three thousand to escape. Harriet Beecher Stowe helped many on their way to freedom.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Within six months, more than seventy-five thousand copies were sold in the United States, and twice that number in Great Britain and her colonies. It was dramatized the same year, and later, was translated into twenty-three languages. Extreme abolitionists at once proclaimed the work as a true picture of slavery, and the slave-holders of the South ridiculed the book as the work of a fanatic and a despised abolitionist. The book well and truthfully represented the dark and brutal side of slavery, but it only half portrayed the daily life of most slaves, and it utterly failed to reflect the courtesy and charm of southern society. The work had a wide and increasing influence in the North and rapidly filled the ranks of a new and powerful anti-slavery party.

THE CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF 1852.

The campaign and election of 1852 showed little of the great change that was silently but surely going on at the North. The army of politicians, intent on getting office, was not responsive to the new movement for justice and freedom. These men controlled both the national conventions, which met in June at Baltimore. In their platforms both Whigs and Democrats

declared for the Compromise of 1850, including the fugitive slave law. The Democrats declared against all forms of slavery agitation. The leaders of both parties showed a plain and even anxious intention to stop all talk of the slavery question. But this was precisely the question that was uppermost in men's minds, and when a clear statement concerning it was made, it received a wide audience. Such a statement was put forth in the platform of the Free Soil convention which met at Pittsburg on August 11. This party declared: "Slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man;" "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution;" "Slavery is sectional and freedom national;" "No more slave States, no more slave Territories, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." In the election that followed, the Democrats carried every state except four; but beneath this success, forces were then operating to form a new and powerful political party of freedom, and to place the North and South in hostile array.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.

Within two years after the election, the politicians resolved on a bold move in favor of slavery. On January 23, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced in the Senate of the United States a bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and to repeal that part of the Missouri Compromise which prohibited slavery in the two Territories. It was further provided that the Fugitive Slave Law should extend to both Territories, and it was the clear intention to make Kansas a slave state.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Far more than any other man, Stephen A. Douglas was responsible for this bill. Two years before, he was a candidate for the Presidency in the Democratic national convention, and the glittering prize yet called forth all his energy and ambition. He saw that the way to the White House was to please the slave power. He knew that the South had neither asked nor hoped for slave territory north of Missouri; and that the North would offer a strong opposition to his plan. A few weeks before he took this great step, he was riding with Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, and after a long conversation about the question, Douglas said, "I will do it." On March 3, 1854, he faced an able and determined opposition in the Senate. He spoke till day-break, and showed great power in the running debate. He was below the medium height, with a heavy frame and massive head. His physical endurance and force, his clearness of statement, and bold reply won admiration from all sides. Seward said, "I have never had so much respect for the Senator as I have tonight."

THE BILL IN CONGRESS.

The bill was before Congress four months and attracted wide attention. It came as a shock to the North. The papers declared, "Slavery takes the field." Public meetings were held in New York, Boston, and Chicago to protest against the bill. The legislatures of five states declared against it. Three thousand clergymen of the various denominations in New England laid before the Senate a protest in which they said the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a "great moral wrong and a breach of the faith." The debate in Con-

gress was earnest and often bitter. Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, said in the Senate, "Is it not hard, if I should choose to emigrate to Kansas, that I should be forbidden to take my old mammy along with me?" Ben Wade, of Ohio, replied, "We have not the least objection to the Senator's migration to Kansas and taking his old mammy along with him. We only insist that he shall not be empowered to sell her after taking her there."

THE LAW.

To give a reason for the bill, Douglas invented one called the doctrine of "non-intervention" or "squatter sovereignty." He wrote in the law this doctrine: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution." The bill became a law on May 30, 1854, and transferred the whole struggle from Congress to Kansas.

THE STRUGGLE TO SETTLE KANSAS.

In 1854, six northern border counties of Missouri had a population of 60,000 white persons and 18,000 slaves. The central and eastern part of the state was held by slave-holders, and a determined effort was now put forth to capture Kansas for slavery. In the month following the passage of the act, hundreds of Missouri farmers with their slaves crossed the western boundary of the state into Kansas. Lawless and desperate men from other southern states also came

to the new territory. But thousands at the North determined to make Kansas a free state. Though Massachusetts was 2,000 miles away, yet "Emigrant Aid Societies" were formed and many from New England took the long journey to the West. John Brown, with his four sons, went out from Ohio, with a burning hatred for slavery. In a few months, an election was held to organize a government for Kansas, and the slave-holders triumphed. But the election was carried by fraud. Out of the six thousand votes cast, only about eight hundred were by legal settlers. Bands of men came across from Missouri, and after voting returned to that state. The free settlers ignored the government on the ground that it had been set up by fraud, but it was supported by the federal officers at Washington.

A DOUBLE GOVERNMENT.

In September, 1857, the slave-holders held a constitutional convention at Lecompton; and after drawing up a constitution for Kansas, submitted it to the people in two ways: "For the constitution with slavery"; "For the constitution without slavery." This gave the people no chance to vote against the constitution itself. In the election which followed, 6,266 votes were given for the constitution with slavery; and only 567 for it without slavery. The free settlers refused to vote at all. The next month the free settlers elected a delegate to Congress, and a legislature for Kansas. This legislature again submitted the Lecompton constitution to the people in two ways: "For the constitution"; "Against the constitution." Ten thousand two hundred and twenty-six votes were given against

the constitution, and one hundred and sixty-two for it. The slave-holders had, in turn, refused to vote.

BORDER WARFARE.

This double government went on for years and caused crime and disorder. Douglas's clear, legal doctrine of non-intervention had arrayed neighbor against neighbor, town against town, and had caused innumerable midnight raids for plunder and murder. Squatter sovereignty had produced anarchy.

THE OSTEND MANIFESTO: 1854.

In 1854, the South made another effort to get more slave territory. Six years before, the government of the United States had offered Spain \$100,000,000 for Cuba, but Spain treated the proposal as an insult. The American government then instructed its ministers to Spain, France, and England to meet, and consider a plan by which the United States might acquire Cuba. The three ministers, Soulé, Mason, and Buchanan, met at Ostend, Belgium, in October, 1854. They issued a manifesto declaring for the purchase of Cuba for \$120,000,000; "but if Spain, deaf to the voice of her own interest, and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," then "we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power." This manifesto attracted wide attention in Europe. The London Times stated: "In this Ostend manifesto a policy is avowed which, if declared by one of the great European powers, would set the whole continent in a blaze." War was expected at Madrid. Soulé, the minister of the young nation that was rising with so

much power beyond the ocean, was received at the Spanish court with marked attention. Besides representing a nation that seemed to adopt the language and attitude of a highwayman, he was well qualified to attract notice anywhere. He appeared before the king and queen of Spain in a costume like that worn by Benjamin Franklin at the court of France. His black velvet suit richly embroidered, his black silk stockings, his dress sword, his pale complexion set off by black eyes and hair, made him a marked figure. Part of the President's cabinet desired war with Spain. A reckless plan to invade Cuba was well known at the South. Senator Slidell, of Louisiana, started a movement in the Senate to suspend the neutrality laws to aid such a hostile expedition to Cuba. The Ostend manifesto was thus the declaration and part of a general plan to extend the area of slavery. The South hoped that Cuba, as well as Kansas, might be made a slave state.

RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: 1854-1856.

The Kansas and Nebraska act of 1854 was a blow strong enough to weld the various anti-slavery elements into one compact political party. For four years, the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law had multiplied the enemies of slavery. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had been read with emotion in tens of thousands of homes. The breaking up of the Whig party paved the way for a new party. The solid front of the Democratic party in defense of slavery demanded the formation of a party for freedom.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME REPUBLICAN.

The earliest move for a new party was at Ripon, Wisconsin. In February, 1854, A. E. Bovay called a meeting at the Congregational church to protest against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This village political meeting was largely attended by men and women, and they passed resolutions to form a new party if Congress should pass the bill opening Kansas to slavery. Mr. Bovay then said that the new party would probably be called Republican, but he advised delay as to the name. On February 26, 1854, he wrote Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune: "Now is the time to organize a great party to oppose slavery. . . . Your paper is now a power in the land. . . . Urge all parties to band together under one name, I mean the name Republican." On June 24, the Tribune stated that the name Republican had been suggested; and each week this paper then went out to 150,000 persons.

THE NAME ADOPTED.

The Tribune was a kind of political Bible in the North. Greeley now wrote Jacob M. Howard, of Michigan, that Wisconsin would adopt the name Republican on July 13, and he urged all the anti-slavery men of Michigan to choose the same name at their state convention on July 6. This convention met at Jackson, "under the oaks." Zachariah Chandler and a fugitive slave were the principal speakers. The assembly "Resolved, That the institution of slavery, except in punishment of crimes, is a great moral, social, and political evil." The first Republican ticket was put forth, and the name formally adopted.

Just a week later, Wisconsin and Vermont adopted the name. On the same day, 10,000 people assembled at Indianapolis, and passed resolutions against the Kansas-Nebraska Law, but the name Republican was not chosen. On July 20, 1854, 2,500 people met at Worcester, Massachusetts, and declared against slavery and in favor of the name Republican. These various state conventions resolved against one or more of the following: The Kansas-Nebraska Law, the Fugitive Slave Law, and slavery in the District of Columbia. In the fall election the new party carried nine states.

SOURCES OF THE NEW PARTY.

The Republican party got its members from three other parties. The Free Soilers eagerly joined a party so like their own. Thousands of northern Democrats came out for freedom. But the main strength came from the Whigs. The members of this party were now in political confusion. For long years, they had relied on the rare leadership of Clay, and the still rarer ability of Webster, and now both were gone. The party was hopelessly divided on the slavery question. Most of the northern Whigs believed slavery was wrong, and besides it was easier to join a new party than to vote with old enemies. These three sources furnished to the Republican party in 1854 its sudden and rapid growth.

LACK OF LEADERS.

But at this time the new party lacked leadership. Horace Greeley did more than any other man to unite the North against the slave power. Salmon P. Chase,

of Ohio, was an able and aggressive advocate of freedom. Seward was the man best qualified to lead the whole party; but he did not join the new movement until the next year. In the autumn of 1855, he spoke out at Albany, and his speech was read by half a million men. He then said: "We want a bold, outspoken, free-spoken organization. . . . Shall we report ourselves to the Whig party? Where is it? . . . The Republican organization has laid a new, sound and liberal platform, broad enough" for Whigs and Democrats to stand upon. Seward's influence was powerful in strengthening the new party.

THE CALL FOR A NEW PARTY.

In January, 1856, the chairmen of the Republican State Central Committees of Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin invited the Republicans of the North to meet at Pittsburg on February 22 to form a national party. On the day appointed, delegates from twenty-three states listened to speeches by Greeley, Chandler, Wilmot, Lovejoy, and Giddings. This assembly issued an address to the people, and appointed a time and place for a national convention.

THE CONVENTION.

This convention met at Philadelphia in June. Two thousand men represented twenty-two states and territories. The platform declared, "it is both the right and imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery." When John C. Fremont was nominated for President, the delegates threw hats and handker-

chiefs into the air, and a large silk flag bearing his name was drawn across the stage.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democratic national convention met at Cincinnati in June, and nominated James Buchanan for President. The Richmond Enquirer truly stated of Buchanan: "He never gave a vote against the interests of slavery, and never uttered a word which could pain the most sensitive southern heart." The platform declared for the Compromise of 1850, and for the Kansas-Nebraska Law.

THE ELECTION OF 1856.

In the following election the Republicans carried every northern state but New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois; and even in these four states they showed great strength. The Democrats carried these states and also the solid South, except Maryland, which gave its votes to a third party. Fremont got 1,341,264, and Buchanan 1,838,169 votes. The Republicans, in the brief space of two years, had made sweeping advances; and they justly regarded the election of 1856 as a moral triumph.

THE ATTACK ON SUMNER: 1856.

A month before Fremont was nominated at Philadelphia, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, delivered in the Senate a speech entitled, "The Crime against Kansas," in which he made a bitter attack on Senator Butler, of South Carolina. Two days later, Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, and a nephew of Butler, came into the Senate Chamber, and

while Sumner was seated at his desk writing, struck him again and again on the head with a heavy gutta-percha cane an inch in diameter. Sumner fell back in his chair unconscious, and with the blood running over his face. The House by a vote of 121 to 95 failed to expel Brooks—as a two-thirds majority was necessary. But he at once resigned his seat, and, after being treated as a hero for three weeks in his state, was re-elected to Congress. The South either excused his action or approved of it, while the North denounced it in unmeasured scorn.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

Two days after the slave power had inaugurated a President of the United States, the Supreme Court handed down a decision intended to be of far-reaching effect. It related to slavery in the territories. Dred Scott was the slave of an army surgeon who resided in Missouri. His master had taken him to Illinois, and later to Minnesota. The laws of Illinois prohibited slavery in that state, and Congress, in 1820, had prohibited slavery in Minnesota. In 1853, Scott began a suit for his liberty in the courts of the United States. He claimed his freedom on the ground of residence in a free state and territory. The case came up on appeal to the Supreme Court, and was decided March 6, 1856.

THE DECISION.

The decision consisted of two distinct parts: The first held that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, and hence not entitled to sue in the courts of the United States; that the laws of Illinois did not set him free;

that, "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution"; that the law passed by Congress forbidding slavery in Minnesota was unconstitutional, and that Dred Scott be therefore sent back to slavery.

The second part of the decision went far beyond the question of one man's liberty. It held that Congress could no more exclude slaves from the territories than it could shut out any other form of property, and that Congress was bound to protect the slave-owner's right to his property. At one blow, this decision swept away every law, and established the right to slavery in every territory from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean. No appeal could be taken from this great court except the appeal to arms. The slave power now held two of the departments of the government, and defied the third.

THE JUDGES.

The judges were influenced by the society in which they moved. Five of them were southern men. They often heard the debates in Congress. They dined, and talked with the leaders of the South. There was no plot to influence their decision, but the judges soon came to believe that by forever settling the slavery question they would render the Supreme Court illustrious.

NO PLOT.

But there was a general impression at the North that the decision was the result of a plot. This idea was best expressed by Lincoln: "If we saw a lot of framed timbers gotten out at different times and places by different workmen—Stephen, and Franklin, and

Roger, and James—and if we saw these timbers joined together and exactly made the frame of a house, with tenons and mortises all fitting, what is the conclusion? We find it impossible not to believe that Stephen, and Franklin, and Roger, and James, all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan before the first blow was struck.” This statement was very popular, but it did not portray the real influences back of the great decision.

The opinion of the court filled two hundred and forty printed pages, and was a cold and pitiless review of the bondage and degradation of the negroes. Lincoln well expressed its spirit toward the slave: “All the powers of earth seem rapidly combining against him. Mammon is after him, ambition follows, philosophy and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in his prison house, they have searched his person and left no prying instrument with him. One after another, they have closed the iron doors upon him, and now they have him, as it were, bolted in with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the concurrence of every key, the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places.”

THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE: 1858.

The Dred Scott decision gave an impetus to slavery agitation. In the election of 1858, the Republicans everywhere polled a much heavier vote. Pennsylvania, the President's home state, voted strongly against his administration. Illinois, for the first time, was carried by the Republicans. In this state, the “Lincoln

and Douglas Debate" held the attention of the nation for months to the single issue of slavery extension. All through the North, sprang up renewed interest in the slavery question.

DOUGLAS.

The character and reputation of the men had much to do with the importance of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas. Although a young man, Douglas had been a leading candidate for the Presidency, had been in Congress for years, and in the Senate had met no equal in debate. His clear and vigorous English, his great energy in bold and direct statement, and his rapidity of thought and fertility of mind, were the striking qualities of this natural orator and advocate. Long practice had taught him the moods and emotions of assemblages; and no man before an audience was better qualified to act the part of Marc Antony. But his situation demanded all his ability. It was well known that the President and his friends desired to see Douglas defeated. With most men, this fact would have meant defeat. The Republican party, too, was daily increasing in strength. With loss of friends and increase of enemies, Douglas now put forth the greatest effort of his life.

LINCOLN.

Lincoln was now in his fiftieth year. From poverty and obscurity, he had raised himself to leadership in his state. Without the aid of schools, he had won high rank for his pure and clear English. In a rude society, he had all the instincts of a gentleman. His kindness was as deeply inwrought in his nature as was his

humor. He loved the truth for its own sake. He believed in the right, and that in the end the right would triumph. He had an abiding faith in the common people. He said: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." This man now stood before audiences where his character was known, and his personal worth spoke louder than the forceful and adroit oratory of Douglas.

THE SEVEN JOINT DEBATES.

Lincoln and Douglas were both candidates to represent Illinois in the Senate of the United States. In June, Lincoln said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." In July, Douglas attacked this doctrine in a speech at Chicago. After two or three speeches by each candidate, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a joint debate. Douglas accepted, and seven joint discussions were held in different parts of the state. The first was at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, and the last at Alton, October 15. They were held in the open air, usually in groves, and from five to ten thousand persons were present at each discussion. The single issue of slavery was presented by each orator. Lincoln asked Douglas if a territory could exclude slavery before such territory became a state. He knew if Douglas should say "No," and thus affirm that slavery was fastened upon a territory in spite of its people, that the author and champion of "squatter sovereignty" could never be

Senator from Illinois. He knew if Douglas should say "Yes," and thus affirm that a territory could exclude slavery, that this would flatly contradict the Dred Scott decision, would offend the entire South, and that the ambitious statesman could never be President of the United States. Douglas saw the full force of the question. He answered that a territory could not directly exclude slavery, but that it could, by unfriendly laws, so hamper the slave-holders' rights that slavery would be practically excluded. This halting answer cost Douglas the Presidency. Lincoln's question was a wedge between the northern and southern Democrats.

THE ELECTION.

In November, following the debate, the Republicans polled 125,430 and the Democrats 121,609 votes; the friends of Buchanan cast 5,071 ballots. Owing to a previous apportionment, the Democrats still controlled the legislature, and Douglas was soon re-elected to the Senate.

THE EFFECT ON THE NATION.

But the moral victory remained with the new party. The Illinois campaign had attracted the attention of the whole Union. Lincoln's speeches were published in the large cities of the North, and formed a kind of platform for the Republican party. Longfellow read his speeches with approval. Greeley came to his support in the columns of the Tribune. Colfax and Chase spoke many times in Illinois. Douglas, besides meeting Lincoln in the seven debates, made a hundred speeches in the state. Both North and South knew

that the campaign was a contest between freedom and slavery, and that freedom had won.

JOHN BROWN'S RAID: 1859.

The Illinois campaign of 1858 aroused the conscience of the North, but the next year John Brown's raid deeply stirred the wrath of the entire South. Brown was a religious enthusiast, and his plan was wildly absurd; but his raid at Harper's Ferry, on October 17, sent an instant and profound alarm of a slave insurrection throughout the fifteen slave states.

JOHN BROWN.

John Brown was the sixth in descent from Peter Brown, who came over in the Mayflower. He was born in Connecticut in 1800, but with his parents came to Ohio five years later. After leaving his father's farm, he tried and failed in the business of a tanner, a surveyor, a farmer, and of a dealer in wool. In October, 1855, he went to Kansas with his sons, and in the border warfare, he soon became the terror of the pro-slavery party.

He was tall and slender, and impressed one by his serious manner. He was deeply religious, but he was a Puritan transplanted to the nineteenth century. He read the Old Testament constantly, and greatly admired Oliver Cromwell. He had a strong will and undoubted courage. He believed that, "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." His education was limited, his faith dogmatic. He had a burning hatred for slavery, and his religious mind transformed all the great influences of freedom into a personal call to duty.

HIS PLAN.

For twenty years, he had pondered over some way to free the slaves in the South; but out of his experience in Kansas he had formed the plan to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and then call all the slaves to freedom. He expected that thousands of slaves would join him, and that northern men would flock to his defense. In 1857, he ordered from a Connecticut firm a thousand pikes, which two years later were used by him at Harper's Ferry. In the early part of 1858, he was instructing twelve men in Iowa in military drill; and a little later, he visited Frederick Douglass at his home in Rochester, New York, and explained his plan in full. He then went to Boston, where he received some encouragement, returned to Iowa, collected his band and with them went east, by way of Chicago and Detroit to Chatham, in Canada. Here, he outlined his plan to a motley assembly of negroes and white persons—men, women, and boys—and was, by them, elected commander-in-chief. Disappointed in his hopes of aid from Boston, he was forced to put off his attack for nearly a year. But on July 4, 1859, Brown and his two sons rented a farm five miles from Harper's Ferry. Here, they quietly collected some rifles and tents, and assembled a small body of men and boys. All was done so well that no suspicion arose.

HARPER'S FERRY.

Harper's Ferry had a population of 5,000, and the government arsenal usually contained over 100,000 stand of arms. At eight o'clock Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, Brown, with eighteen men, left the

farm and reached the town three hours later. They at once captured the arsenal and posted sentinels. They detained the midnight passenger train for three hours. In the morning, a thousand men in arms attacked Brown and his followers, and drove them into a brick engine house. In answer to telegrams, President Buchanan sent eighty marines, under Robert E. Lee, from the navy yard at Washington, and these arrived at Harper's Ferry on Monday evening. The next morning, on Brown's refusal to surrender, the engine house was stormed, and Brown, with six others, were made prisoners. Ten of the band were killed, and five escaped. Brown was soon tried, and sentenced to death. On the way to the gallows he kissed a negro child and spoke of the beauty of the landscape. In the presence of death, he had no fear and no regret.

INDIGNATION OF THE SOUTH.

The wrath of the South rose high at Brown's attempt to free the slaves in a slave state. The North was accused of inciting, and then justifying the attack. The Republican party was held responsible for what the slave-holders thought was a lawless and criminal invasion of a peaceful state. The raid strengthened the enmity between the two sections, and hastened the Civil War.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION: 1860.

Six months after John Brown's raid, the Democratic national convention met at Charleston, South Carolina. The delegates from the fifteen slave states demanded that the platform should clearly set forth the right to hold slaves in a territory, and the duty of

Congress to protect slavery in such territory. The northern delegates refused to agree to this imperious demand. On such a platform, they knew that their candidate, Stephen A. Douglas, could never be elected. The convention, by a vote of 165 to 138, refused the demand to force slavery into the territories. The delegates from Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas at once withdrew from the convention. If they could not rule they would ruin the Democratic party. The remainder of the convention adjourned to meet again in Baltimore on June 18, 1860. At the appointed time and place the delegates reassembled, and seven states—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and California—withdrew. The remainder of the convention nominated Douglas for President. The southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckenridge for President. This hopelessly divided the Democratic party, and broke the strongest bond between the North and South.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION: 1860.

The Republican national convention was held in Chicago on May 16, 1860. Four hundred and sixty-six delegates assembled in a large square building, called the Wigwam, and ten thousand spectators watched their proceedings. The noted lawyer, William M. Evarts, headed the New York delegation. Horace Greeley was there as the representative of the distant state of Oregon. The interest was eager and even intense. The whole assembly was confident that the next President of the United States would there be nominated. Three candidates—Lincoln, Chase, and

Seward—were before the convention. On the first ballot, Lincoln received 102 and Seward 175 votes. On the third ballot, Lincoln received 231 and Seward 180 votes. Only three more would give Lincoln a majority of the convention. A hush fell upon the great assembly. Just then, Ohio gave four more votes to Lincoln, and assured his nomination. Enthusiasm now broke forth, and a cannon placed on the roof was fired off. At the close of the third ballot, Lincoln received 364 votes, and stood forth the standard-bearer of a young, vigorous, determined, and widely extended political party.

THE UNION PARTY: 1860.

A Constitutional Union party met in convention at Baltimore, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President. It opposed both the Democrats and Republicans, and pledged a firm allegiance to "the Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws."

FOUR CANDIDATES.

Four candidates were now before the public. Lincoln stood pledged against the extension of slavery. Breckinridge was pledged to extend it by law. Douglas aimed to evade the issue by his doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." Bell hoped to avoid the issue by ignoring it.

THE CAMPAIGN.

Enthusiasm and deep earnestness marked the campaign. Lincoln took almost no part in it, but he closely observed the great movement that was to place him at the head of the Nation. Seward's fame filled the North as he spoke in various places from New York to Min-

nesota. Long torchlight processions, often numbering twenty thousand men, appeared for the first time. Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, William Cullen Bryant, and George W. Curtis rendered active aid to the Republican party.

THE ELECTION.

The election on November 6, 1860, showed the wide separation of the North and the South. Lincoln carried every northern state except New Jersey, and even in this state he received four of the seven electoral votes. Breckenridge carried every southern state except Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri; but even here three of these states voted for Bell, who was a slave-holder, and Missouri voted for Douglas, whose ability in Congress had ever been on the side of slavery. Lincoln received 1,866,452; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckinridge, 847,953, and Bell, 590,631 votes.

GROWTH OF SECESSION SENTIMENT.

Since 1850, the leading men of the South had determined on secession if they could not maintain with the North equal power in the Union. It seemed to them that the North had gained in every contest over slavery. In 1820, their right to hold slaves had been abolished over a vast region north and west of Missouri. They had brought on the Mexican war to extend slavery, and all but Texas was practically free territory. They had forced through Congress a fugitive slave law, and it could not be enforced. They had secured the law to establish slavery in Kansas, and yet free men of the North had actual possession of the territory. They had gained from the Supreme

Court a decision which might serve as a rock against the waves of public opinion, and it had been submerged. Every victory had turned to defeat. When Lincoln was elected, they resolved on independence from a power they could not control.

A GREAT SLAVE REPUBLIC.

For years the idea of a great slave republic had been rising in the southern mind. By the war with Mexico, the leaders had hoped to carry slavery clear through to the Pacific. Later on, they intended to conquer Mexico, and spread slavery throughout its whole extent. They stood ready at any time to declare war against Spain, and take Cuba by force. With such vantage ground, it would be easy to gain and hold northern South America. Around the Gulf of Mexico would then stand a huge slave empire, able to withstand the North, and secure the existence of slavery for the next century.

SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The South resolved on secession if Lincoln should be elected. The legislature of South Carolina remained in session till after November 6 to hear the result of the election. When the news was flashed over the wires that Lincoln would be the next President, the legislature voted money for arms and called a state convention. On December 18, 1860, this body met in Charleston amid rejoicing and deep feeling. Many gray-haired men were present. They soon passed the Ordinance of Secession: "We, the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain . . . that the union now subsisting

between South Carolina and other states under the name of 'The United States of America' is hereby dissolved." As the last word was read by an aged slaveholder, the convention broke into cheers, the crowd outside sent up a great shout, church bells were rung, and a cannon sent forth its ominous note.

SIGNING THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

In the evening, the members of the convention entered Institute Hall in solemn procession for the purpose of formally signing the Ordinance of Secession. The document was first read, and then a white-haired minister asked God's blessing on the great step taken. It took two hours for all the members to sign the act of separation, and many recalled the famous scene of 1776 in Independence Hall. Crowds of ladies in the galleries graced the occasion. Military companies marched through the streets, huge bonfires lighted up many squares, and fireworks flashed and glittered in the darkness.

AN INDEPENDENT NATION.

South Carolina at once took measures to show that she was a free and independent nation. The governor organized a cabinet, a new flag was adopted, and the Charleston papers published news from the United States under the heading, "Foreign News." Commissioners were soon sent to Washington to secure from the government of the United States the surrender of all forts and public buildings in the state of South Carolina.

SIX MORE STATES SECEDE.

On January 5, 1861, the Senators from Mississippi,

Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas met in Washington, and resolved on secession, and by February 1 every one of these six states had formally withdrawn from the Union. As each state seceded, its Senators and Representatives in Congress left Washington for the South. As a rule, they made no speeches and presented no list of grievances in breaking the unity and grandeur of the nation.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

On February 4, forty-two delegates, representing South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, met in the State House at Montgomery, Alabama, adopted a temporary government, and elected Jefferson Davis President, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President. These officers were to serve until a permanent constitution was adopted. On February 18, President Davis was inaugurated in the presence of a large assemblage. He then said: "Our new government is founded upon . . . the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man." On March 11, a permanent constitution was adopted by seven states.

A PEACE CONGRESS.

But a strong effort was now made to save the great Union. A Peace Congress of one hundred and thirty-three commissioners from twenty-one states met in Washington, on February 4, and remained in session for twenty-three days. It advocated, "the extension of the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific," and payment from the national "treasury for all fugitive slaves rescued after arrest."

DECISION AT THE SOUTH.

While the North waited and did nothing, all at the South was decision and activity. As each state seceded it took possession of the postoffices, customs-houses and forts within its borders. Arms were purchased, and large forces of men were instructed in military drill. Prominent men in the army, navy, and civil service of the United States were constantly resigning to join the South.

DIVISION AT THE NORTH.

President Buchanan declared that secession was illegal, but that the government of the United States had no power to force a state back into the Union. To destroy the Union was illegal, but to preserve it was unconstitutional. The President used his position to impress upon the country that the North was wrong and that the South was right. The New York Tribune stated: "If the cotton states shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." Other leading papers at the North declared for some peaceful settlement of all questions in dispute. On January 14, 1861, the legislature of Ohio asked the other states to repeal their personal liberty laws, and in three months Rhode Island, Vermont, and Massachusetts had complied with the request. The North quailed in the presence of actual disunion.

LINCOLN'S JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON: 1861.

In the midst of this uncertainty, all eyes turned to the coming President. Early on Monday morning,

February 11, 1861, Lincoln went from his home to the small station in Springfield to take the train for the East. More than a thousand of his friends and neighbors had gathered there for a last farewell. In silent emotion, he grasped the hands of those who had known and believed in him. His progress eastward was one continued ovation. At Indianapolis, thirty-three cannon shots greeted the arrival of his train. Governor Morton met him at the station in a carriage drawn by four white horses, and they drove through the city followed by the legislature and other state officers. In Cincinnati, he met an immense crowd, and then went northeast to Columbus, where he addressed the legislature in the capitol. From this city he bore east and north to Pittsburg, and then northwest to Cleveland. Going east through Buffalo to Albany, he was amazed at the vast crowds that met him in the Empire State. At Troy, he spoke to fifteen thousand people, and a quarter of a million persons saw him enter the streets of New York. In Philadelphia, the vast assemblage surpassed any that he had seen. On February 22, he spoke in Independence Hall. Up to this time, his journey had been determined by the invitations of cities and legislatures. But now, no word of hospitality came from Maryland, through which he must pass. On the contrary, he received word from many sources that his life would be in danger in Baltimore. He at once took a night train, and in disguise passed through the hostile state, and appeared in Washington the next morning.

LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION.

On March 4, Lincoln was inaugurated, guarded

with great care. General Scott placed the whole city under military guard, and received reports from his troops every fifteen minutes. The line of procession was along Pennsylvania avenue from the White House to the Capitol. Cavalry guarded all the side streets, and sharpshooters lined the roofs along Pennsylvania avenue, with instructions to watch the windows on the opposite side of the street. Dense masses of mounted soldiers guarded Lincoln in the center of the street. The same care was taken on his return to the White House.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

On his way from Springfield to Washington, Lincoln had carefully avoided any declaration of his policy. He wished first of all to be peacefully inaugurated. He said: "Let us do one thing at a time, and the big things first." But when he stood at the east front of the Capitol, he knew that responsibility had come and that his words would be flashed to every part of the nation. He declared he would maintain the Union, and he threw the whole responsibility for war upon the South.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without yourselves being the aggressors. You can have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

CHAPTER V.

THE CIVIL WAR.

(1861-1865.)

At last, the North faced the South with a practical declaration of war. The long conflict of ideas was about to end, and the conflict of force to begin. It will throw light on the great civil war which followed to compare the resources of the two sections, and for this purpose the census of 1860 is invaluable. For greater clearness, round numbers will be given, and in each comparison the seventeen free states will be contrasted with the eleven slave states which seceded.

NUMBER OF STATES, AREA, AND POPULATION.

From Maine to Kansas, and from New Jersey to Minnesota, seventeen free states formed a united and powerful nation. It had an area of over 600,000 square miles and a population of 19,000,000. The eleven "Confederate States of America," extending from Virginia to Texas, formed another thoroughly compact nation, with an area of more than 700,000 square miles, and a population of 9,000,000. The war, in reality, was between two distinct and independent nations. The four slave states—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—furnished men and supplies to both sides. The distant and thinly

inhabited states of California and Oregon gave little aid to the North.

RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES.

The North had great resources in its varied industries, while the South relied mainly on the one occupation of farming. The seventeen free states had more than 100,000 manufacturing establishments worth more than \$800,000,000, and employing more than 1,000,000 persons; the eleven slave states had 20,000 manufacturing establishments of all kinds, worth less than \$100,000,000, and employing 110,000 persons. The North had twice as many miles of railways, and five times the ocean tonnage. Even in agriculture the northern farmers owned \$4,800,000,000 worth of farm lands, while the southern planters had only \$1,800,000,000 in such property.

INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS.

The North led in intellectual, as well as in material resources. It had 1,200 printing establishments to 150 in the South. North of Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio river there were 250 dailies and 1,800 weekly newspapers; while in the eleven slave states there were only 66 dailies and 600 weekly newspapers. The North had more than 6,000 public libraries, circulating more than 5,000,000 volumes, while the South had half as many libraries, sending out less than 2,000,000 volumes. Two million seven hundred thousand pupils attended the public schools in the North, to 580,000 in the South. From 1790 to 1849, the North took out 16,514 patents for inventions, while the South had only 2,202 such patents.

FORTS IN THE SOUTH.

As fast as the states seceded, they took possession of the forts and arsenals within their borders, and in the early months of 1861 there remained to the Union only three forts: Fortress Monroe, in Virginia; Fort Sumter, in South Carolina, and the defenses at Key West, Florida. In January, President Buchanan ordered the vessel, the *Star of the West*, to take supplies to Fort Sumter. As this vessel was entering the harbor on January 9, 1861, she was fired on by a Confederate battery, and compelled to return to New York. This was the first overt act of war; but President Buchanan did nothing.

ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER.

In April, the Confederates resolved to capture Fort Sumter. This fort stood in the center of the harbor, commanding its entrance, and contained forty-eight cannons, hundreds of barrels of powder, and many small arms. It was held by Major Anderson and 127 men. The Confederates erected strong land batteries within reach of the fort. On Major Anderson's refusal to surrender the place, they opened fire at half past four in the morning of April 12, 1861. Nineteen batteries hurled shot and shell against the solid walls. The attack was begun on Friday morning, and continued for thirty-four hours. On Saturday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the fort was on fire, and through the dense masses of black smoke the flames shot upward. A white flag soon rose above the walls, and the fort was formally surrendered. Major Anderson and his men were allowed to leave for the North,

RESULT.

The attack on Fort Sumter marked an epoch. It ended a long conflict of ideas, and ushered in a conflict of force. It began the final struggle between freedom and slavery. The lurid and sinister glare from those guns on that eventful Friday morning, and the roar from their iron throats, should have sent a thrill of hope and joy to 4,000,000 slaves.

OPENING OF THE WAR.

The news of the surrender was flashed over the Union. On April 15, Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion. Governors of states at once loyally responded, and in forty-eight hours a Massachusetts regiment was on board a train bound for Washington. The Stars and Stripes decorated the homes of millions at the North. Patriotic speeches were made from the platform and pulpit. The newspapers were filled with the news of preparation. Cannons were being cast in the great foundries, and new foundries were being built.

A VISION OF THE WAR.

"The past, as it were, rises before me like a dream. Again we are in the great struggle for national life. We hear the sound of preparation—the music of the boisterous drums—the silver voices of heroic bugles. We see thousands of assemblages, and hear the appeals of orators; we see the pale cheeks of women, and the flushed faces of men; and in those assemblages we see all the dead whose dust we have covered with flowers. We lose sight of them no more. We are with them when they enlist in the great army of freedom. We see them part with those they love. Some are walking for the last time in quiet, woody places with the maidens they adore. We hear the whisperings and the sweet vows of eternal love as they lingeringly part forever. Others

are bending over cradles kissing babes that are asleep. Some are receiving the blessings of old men. Some are parting with mothers, who hold them and press them to their hearts again and again, and say nothing; and some are talking with wives, and endeavoring with brave words spoken in the old tones to drive away the awful fear. We see them part. We see the wife standing in the door with the babe in her arms—standing in the sunlight sobbing—at the turn of the road a hand waves—she answers by holding high in her loving hands the child. He is gone, and forever.

“We see them all as they march proudly away under the flaunting flags, keeping time to the wild, grand music of war—marching down the streets of the great cities—through the towns and across the prairies—down to the fields of glory, to do and to die for the eternal right.

“We go with them, one and all. We are by their side on all the gory fields, in all the hospitals of pain—on all the weary marches. We stand guard with them in the wild storm and under the quiet stars. We are with them in ravines running with blood—in the furrows of old fields. We are with them between contending hosts, unable to move, wild with thirst, the life ebbing slowly away among the withered leaves. We see them pierced by balls and torn with shells, in the trenches of forts, and in the whirlwind of the charge, where men become iron, with nerves of steel.

“We are with them in the prisons of hatred and famine, but human speech can never tell what they endured.

“We are at home when the news comes that they are dead. We see the maiden in the shadow of her sorrow. We see the silvered head of the old man bowed with the last grief.

“The past rises before us, and we see four millions of human beings governed by the lash—we see them bound hand and foot—we hear the strokes of cruel whips—we see the hounds tracking women through tangled swamps. We see babes sold from the breasts of mothers. Cruelty unspeakable! Outrage infinite!

“Four million bodies in chains—four million souls in fetters. All the sacred relations of wife, mother, father, and child trampled beneath the brutal feet of might.

And all this was done under our own beautiful banner of the free.

"The past rises before us. We hear the roar and shriek of the bursting shell. The broken fetters fall. There, heroes died. We look. Instead of slaves we see men and women and children. The wand of progress touches the auction block, the slave-pen, and the whipping-post, and we see homes and firesides, and school-houses and books, and where all was want and crime, and cruelty and fear, we see the faces of the free.

"These heroes are dead. They died for liberty—they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadows of the clouds, careless alike of sunshine or storm, each in the windowless palace of rest. Earth may run red with other wars—they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for the soldiers living and dead—cheers for the living and tears for the dead."

AREA OF THE WAR.

Seventeen free states now resolutely determined to maintain the Union and to put down the rebellion in the eleven slave states. The war spread over an area of 800,000 square miles. It lasted four years, and held the attention of the civilized world. Its two great issues were—the liberty of the slaves, and the existence of republican government.

UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES.

During the war, the North enrolled in its armies 2,850,000, and the South 1,100,000 soldiers. Of these 4,000,000 men, less than one-half were in actual service at one time. The war opened with a Union army of 16,000, and the Confederacy had not a single sol-

dier. At the close of the war, the North had enrolled 1,000,516 soldiers, and the South only 175,000.

BATTLES AND LOSS OF LIFE.

The total number of engagements of all kinds in the four years was 2,265. There were 330 battles where the Union loss in killed, wounded and missing was above 100. Seven hundred thousand soldiers died for the Union or for the Confederacy.

COST OF THE WAR.

When Fort Sumter was surrendered, the debt of the United States was about \$80,000,000. When Lee surrendered it was \$2,800,000,000. During the last three years of the war, the Federal government collected \$780,000,000 in taxes, sold \$1,100,000,000 worth of bonds, and issued in the form of notes and paper money, \$1,000,000,000. But the total cost of the Civil War will not be known until the Confederate outlay can be given, the destruction of property on both sides ascertained, and the loss in labor of 4,000,000 soldiers is estimated with some accuracy.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

At first, the war was to save the Union and not to free the slaves. In February, 1861, the House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution declaring that Congress had no power to touch slavery in the slave states. When Lincoln was first inaugurated, he expressly disclaimed any intention to interfere with slavery where it then existed. The North would not then support an abolition war. The two giant forces of freedom and of slavery had come into deadly con-

flict, and one was trying to maintain a legal union with its natural enemy.

THE WAR AND SLAVERY.

But as the great war went on, its real cause thrust itself into all the military operations. The slave might be a laborer or soldier in the Union army. He was such in the Confederate army. He labored on the plantation, while his master, on the battlefield, fought to make slavery eternal. The patient bondman faithfully and lovingly cared for the wife and children of the man who fought to destroy the sacredness and beauty of the lowly home. It was said that a single firebrand thrown into a Southern home would have disbanded the Confederate armies; and not one was thrown. This speaks eloquently for master and slave, but it can never justify a system that produced a constant succession of outrages. By their devotion, the slaves defended slavery. They furnished a large army of laborers, who released an equal number of white men for active military operations.

LINCOLN'S TWO OBJECTS.

As the war went on, the North was compelled to recognize slavery as a fact of great military importance. In July, 1862, Congress confiscated the slaves of all persons in rebellion against the United States. This law alone would have freed nearly half of the slaves. At once the cry of an "Abolition War" went up at the North, and Lincoln appealed to the public in a remarkable letter to Greeley. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others

alone, I would do it." Lincoln seems to have had two distinct policies at this time. Deep in his heart lay an abiding love of justice, and he wished that this great war should not end without removing a great wrong. Years before, he had seen a young girl sold at auction in New Orleans, and, moved by strong emotion, he then said: "If I ever get a chance to hit slavery, I'll hit it hard."

He was now in a position to strike slavery with all the energy of the North, and to put the South in defense of the wrong before the civilized world.

But he knew that a war for abolition alone would not be supported. Hence, he emphasized the military necessity of emancipation. He sincerely believed in the necessity, but an almost divine justice and compassion controlled his action.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

In September, 1862, Lincoln thought the time for action had come. The war had been in progress a year and a half, and the policy of the administration would soon be considered in the November elections. A great battle had just driven a southern army from northern soil. Lincoln determined to let the North choose between freedom and slavery.

On September 22, 1862, he issued a proclamation declaring, "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." On the day appointed he issued the famous emancipation proc-

lamation which made "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable."

A WAR FOR UNION AND FREEDOM.

From this time on, the Union soldiers were fighting to destroy slavery as well as to save the Union. Every battle was now a blow for freedom, and every death a sacrifice, nobly rendered, to make the bondman free. At the close of the war the victorious North forced into the Constitution the thirteenth amendment: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." ✓

THE NAVY IN 1860.

When the war began, the North had only thirteen vessels ready for immediate service. The remaining seventy-seven were either disabled or thousands of miles away on distant seas.

The South had not a single sailor or vessel of war. It had only three rolling mills, no body of skilled mechanics, and no great gun factories or machine shops. But a single cotton crop might purchase a navy, and England would quickly buy the cotton and gladly sell the ships, and with these ships the South might sweep the northern commerce from the ocean.

BUILDING OF THE NAVY.

It was a clear military necessity for the North to have at least six hundred vessels to blockade the entire Confederacy, and to capture the forts and ports along its 1,900 miles of coast.

To effect this great object, the government at once began to add to the navy in five ways:

1. Everything afloat that could be used in the service was bought. By July 1, 1861, twelve steamers were added to the service.

2. Contracts were at once made with private parties to construct small but heavily-armored screw gunboats. Some of these were afloat in four months, and were called "ninety-day gunboats."

3. The government began the construction of sloops-of-war, and at the close of 1861, fourteen were in the service.

4. The government built very many paddle-wheel steamers for use on the rivers and in shallow channels.

5. The government constructed ironclad war vessels.

As fast as these vessels were made they were sent along the coast to stop all trade with the South. Old vessels loaded with stone were sunk at the narrowest entrances to ports. Gunboats were stationed in or near the harbor, ready to capture or destroy any vessel attempting to pass.

AN EFFECTIVE BLOCKADE.

This blockade was very effective. During the year before the war, the South had sent 4,500,000 bales of cotton to Europe; but during the next year not over 50,000 bales passed the blockade. The price of cotton fell to eight cents a pound in the South and rose to fifty cents a pound in England. The prices of manufactured articles of all kinds rapidly rose in the Confederacy. During the war, the navy captured over 1,100 prizes,

worth \$31,000,000, but its great work lay in destroying the foreign trade of the South.

SOUTHERN PORTS.

A cargo of manufactured articles from England soon commanded an extraordinary amount of cotton in the South, and offered the strongest inducement to break the blockade. But as vessels could not enter the southern ports direct from Europe, it was necessary to have depots of supplies near the South. Four places—Nassau, Bermuda, Havana, and Matamoras—served as stations for the trade. The chief southern ports were Savannah, Charleston, and Wilmington. A short run of five or six hundred miles connected these cities with Nassau.

BLOCKADE RUNNERS.

To carry on this short line trade, it became necessary to have special vessels, known as blockade-runners. These were long, sharp-pointed, narrow side-wheel steamers. The hulls were painted in a dull gray color and rose but a few feet above the water. Anthracite coal was used to avoid much smoke, and the smokestacks rose but little above the decks. The vessels were constructed for speed, invisibility, and stowage. On a dark night and with a high tide, these vessels would run past the blockade, change cargoes, return to Nassau and reship the cotton to Europe. In four years, 1,500 blockade runners were made prizes or sunk, and the trade was gradually diminished.

ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY AND THE CIVIL WAR.

A powerful party in England early showed sympa-

thy for the South. The strength of this party was the aristocracy, and its leader was the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell. During the early part of the war, nearly all the great newspapers, the leading magazines, and the interviews, and speeches of prominent men openly expressed sympathy for the South, and declared that the Union was destroyed. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton predicted that four republics would spring forth from the ruins of the Union. Lord John Russell said, "The struggle is on the one side for empire, and on the other for power." Edward A. Freeman, the distinguished historian, had printed on the title page of one of his histories his belief in the "disruption of the United States." Gladstone said, "The Federal government can never succeed in putting down the rebellion."

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND THE WAR.

Out of this public sentiment, grew the hostile action of the English government. In February, Lord John Russell wrote to Lord Lyons in Washington that the United States had "sought for quarrels" with England, but that "British forbearance springs from the consciousness of strength and not from the timidity of weakness." In March, a motion to recognize the independence of the Confederacy was made in Parliament. On May 6, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons that the "Southern Confederacy of America . . . must be treated as a belligerent." On May 13, Charles Francis Adams, the United States Minister to England, landed at Liverpool; and on the very same day, as if to show discourtesy, England's proclamation of neutrality was issued. In July,

Lord John Russell, through Lord Lyons at Washington, directed Mr. Bunch, a British consul at Charleston, to open negotiations with the Confederate government. The government at Washington demanded the recall of Mr. Bunch for this hostile movement, but England assumed full responsibility for the act and refused the demand.

CAPTURE OF MASON AND SLIDELL.

In the autumn of 1861, the Confederate government appointed James Murray Mason, of Virginia, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, ministers respectively to England and France. These officers were authorized to secure the full recognition of the Confederacy, to get loans and military supplies for the South, to make treaties, and to defeat the Union diplomacy. On the dark and stormy night of October 12, the ministers with their two secretaries left Charleston for Nassau. From thence, they went to Cardenas, Cuba, and then overland to Havana. From this neutral port, they took passage on the *Trent*, a British mail steamer and a neutral vessel bound for a neutral port. They were clearly beyond the reach of legal capture. But on November 8, Captain Wilkes, of the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto*, captured the two ministers and their secretaries, and took them as prisoners to Fort Warren, Boston.

EFFECT IN THE NORTH.

The whole North rejoiced at the capture. A banquet in honor of Captain Wilkes was given in Boston. On December 2, Congress gave him a vote of thanks. But Lincoln said, "I fear the traitors will prove to be

white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done."

ENGLAND DEMANDS RELEASE AND APOLOGY.

Two days after the news of the capture was received, the English cabinet met and demanded the immediate release of the four men, and that a suitable apology should be rendered to the English government. Troops and supplies were at once ordered to Canada to enforce the demand. This was that "British forbearance that springs from the consciousness of strength," rather than a deliberate plan to destroy the great nation that for three-fourths of a century had risen with such power and splendor, and that was now struggling for its very life.

The prisoners were released, and Gladstone taunted the North for its wavering policy. Unfortunately, Seward returned the prisoners on the ground that they had not been formally adjudged in a prize court. This was nothing but the old right of search where a "British man-of-war had been made a floating judgment seat six thousand times." The plain fact was, that the Trent was a neutral vessel, from a neutral port to a neutral port, and was, by international law, a part of the territory of the nation to which she belonged.

ENGLAND VIOLATES NEUTRALITY.

But the English government permitted on its own soil open hostility to the Union. It allowed the Con-

federacy to establish on English soil an active naval department. There, its vessels were built, repaired, armed, commissioned, and sent forth to destroy the merchant vessels of the nation with which England was at peace. Years later, England paid \$15,500,000 in gold for her hostility to a friendly nation.

TWO PARTIES IN ENGLAND.

There were two parties in England. The landed aristocracy and their followers had no sympathy with republican governments; but the common people of England were the natural allies of the North, and their noblest representative was John Bright. This eloquent and able statesman deserves all honor in America. In the darkest hour of the Union, he foretold its final triumph, and eloquently portrayed its restoration over a vast domain with "one people and one language and one law and one faith, and over all that wide continent the homes of freedom." The Civil War produced the "Cotton Famine" in England, and 500,000 operatives, thrown out of employment, were, at one time, receiving poor relief. This vast industrial army, under the stress of poverty, denied its sympathy to a slave republic. The common people of England felt that the North was fighting for free labor.

THE SOUTH IN 1865.

At the opening of 1865, the situation at the South was desperate. The Union navy had utterly destroyed her foreign trade, and stood guard at every sea port. Sheridan, for the last time, was laying waste the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah. Sherman had burned the factories and machine shops of the manufacturing

center of the South, had made a wide swath of desolation to the sea, and now, destroying as he advanced, was marching North to join Grant at Richmond. Grant's army presented a solid front of iron and steel to Lee's small army behind the defenses around Richmond. The Confederate troops lacked food and supplies of all kinds. The railroads were not repaired, the plantations were neglected, the money was worthless, desertions from the army were common, and the prisons were filled with Union soldiers.

PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE RICHMOND.

On Sunday, April 2, 1865, all was in confusion in the city. President Davis was at church when he received news of Grant's attack. He at once left the service, called a cabinet meeting, and decided that all the government archives should be taken out of the city. The state legislature and city council also met and took measures for departure. The arsenal and war vessels were now destroyed by tremendous explosions, and large stores of cotton and tobacco were set on fire to prevent capture by the enemy. All the liquor was ordered destroyed, but a mob gave free rein to disorder and crime. A desperate band of convicts set fire to the state prison, and in their striped clothes went yelling and leaping through the streets. One Lumkin had in his slave-trader's jail some fifty slaves—men, women, and children. These he chained together and got ready to leave the city.

THE CITY TAKEN.

On Monday, order was restored. A colored regiment, under the command of a grandson of John

Quincy Adams, entered the city. They were regarded with perfect horror by the white people, and met with transports of delight by the colored population. The black soldiers, in their bright uniforms, rose in their stirrups, and waved their swords to greet the cheers of their colored brethren.

LINCOLN IN RICHMOND.

On Tuesday, Lincoln entered Richmond. Accompanied by his son Tad and a small guard, and led by a colored man as a guide, he walked a mile and a half to the main part of the city. Crowds of colored people looked with wonder, joy, and reverence on the man of whom they had heard so much. One white-haired negro wearing a crownless hat, without a coat, and in tattered clothes, half knelt before the President, and said, "May de good Lord bless and keep you safe, Mars Linkum." Lincoln raised his hat and his eyes filled with tears.

LEE'S SURRENDER.

On April 3, 1865, Lee evacuated Richmond. It was a beautiful spring morning. Flowers grew by the wayside. Many peach trees along the way were in bloom. The air was pure and clear, and the pale green leaves gave a delicate color and charm to the landscape.

Grant pushed his troops after the retreating Confederates. Sheridan, by rapid marching, got directly in front of Lee's line of retreat. On April 9, Lee surrendered his whole army at Appomattox Court House, and the war was ended.

ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN.

On the President's return to Washington, he attended Ford's theatre on the evening of April 14, 1865. John Wilkes Booth, an actor, ambitious for fame, noiselessly opened the door at the rear of the box where Lincoln sat. He had a dagger in one hand and a pistol in the other. He sent a bullet through Lincoln's brain, jumped from the box to the stage, cried to the audience "Sic Semper Tyrannis," ran quickly across the stage, escaped through a rear door, mounted a horse in readiness, and fled in the darkness from the city.

The assassin had done sure work. Lincoln moved but slightly. His eyes closed, his head drooped forward, and he became unconscious. He was at once taken across the street to a room, and physicians were summoned. Members of the Cabinet watched at the bedside during the night. Senator Sumner was there, his great frame shaken by sobs. Lincoln died the next morning a little after seven.

FUNERAL SERVICES.

Funeral services were held in the East Room of the White House, and then the cortege began its long journey over the same route taken by Lincoln on his way to Washington four years before. As the funeral car moved along Pennsylvania avenue, it was preceded by a detachment of colored soldiers, and followed by the ministers of foreign nations, judges of the Supreme Court, members of Congress, and chief officers of the government. Bells tolled and minute guns sounded from the distant fortifications. The body lay in state for two days in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The tall columns and massive dome were draped in black. At Philadelphia, a great concourse in Independence Hall looked on the face of the man who, four years before, in that place, had said, "Sooner than surrender these principles I would be assassinated on this spot." An immense multitude saw the remains in the City Hall of New York. In that city, a solemn funeral hymn was rendered at midnight by German musical societies. As the funeral train went along the Hudson, dirges and hymns were sung, and crowds stood uncovered as the body was borne to its distant resting place. While he lay in state in the Capitol at Albany, his assassin stood at bay in a burning barn and was shot by a Union soldier. The long journey westward was one continued tribute of grief and affection. At the grave, his second inaugural address was read, and its closing words marked well the trend of his life and character: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

THE GRAND REVIEW.

In May, the armies under Grant and Sherman were assembled in Washington for a final and grand review. A large reviewing stand, finely decorated with flowers, evergreens and flags, was erected near the White House, and on this President Johnson, General Grant, the members of the Cabinet and other distinguished men assembled to honor the two great armies of the Union. For days before, every train had brought crowds of people into the city, and on the morning of the review, Pennsylvania avenue, on both sides, was

lined with a dense mass of humanity from the Capitol to the White House. An hour before the troops began to march, the school children of the city, bearing flowers for the soldiers, took position at the Capitol. For two days, the great host, forming a column thirty miles in length, marched along the historic avenue. It was a great army that knew what war meant, and that had faced death on many battlefields. Their uniforms were worn and torn by hard service. Many flags had been cut into shreds by shot and shell. Memories of the fallen arose from the stern pageant, as the great army began its last march for distant homes and friends.

CHAPTER VI.

INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT EVENTS.

ECONOMIC GROUPS.

The long conflict of the two sections was one of prejudice and recrimination. In the heat of that conflict strong emotions colored and distorted every event. Every page of the record bears the impress of passion; and from this record have been written partisan histories. As the period of commotion recedes into the fixed past, we can better determine its limits and measure its forces. Far removed from the passion of the past one can now critically examine the record to determine the underlying cause of the hostility between the North and the South. This method of interpretation brings out clearly four important facts:

1. Two distinct economic groups appeared long before the Revolution and continued to the Civil War. These groups had opposing systems of labor and capital and had different climate and products. Each was, in fact, from the standpoint of industries and interests, a distinct nation.

ECONOMIC INTERESTS CONTROL.

2. Each group sought to protect or advance its own interests. Both sought to control the common

government and the common territory. Each demanded the sacrifice of the material interests of the other. By tariff laws, the North exploited the South; and the slaveholder exploited the slave. Business interests controlled in each case.

STRENGTH OF A GROUP.

3. The stronger group triumphed. The wealth of the North, its varied industries, its skilled labor, and its gain by immigration conquered the South. In the production of wealth, wage-labor was cheaper than slave labor, because it was less wasteful and more efficient. The factory system produced varied industries where skill could operate in every form of labor. The South had one great industry—agriculture—which was carried on by ignorant slave-labor, and, hence, expensive.

LIBERTY VS. INTERESTS.

4. Each group appealed to the principles of liberty and justice. Speeches, newspaper articles, books, resolutions by assemblies, and laws, registered the sentiments and arguments for each section. A vast mass of printed material appeared for each side, and this was transmuted into the inmost thoughts of men.

This continually increasing mass of arguments, and laws, led each group to regard the conflict as one of ideas, rather than as one of opposing economic interests. When passionate oratory and inflammatory articles always held up the principles of liberty as the main cause of contention, it was natural that men should fail to see the vital, material interests back of the whole movement. Since men believed the conflict

was one of ideas, the result was, consequently, recrimination and increasing bitterness, and finally civil war. Each section accused the other of injustice and tyranny. Leaders arose who were honored by one section and held up to execration by the other. In this view, events themselves became distorted and magnified. Men measured an economic force, not by an analysis of the force itself, but by what was said of it.

PAST ECONOMIC GROUPS.

History is full of examples of opposing economic interests. The splendor of the Athenian empire was derived from subsidies forced from the subject states. The Roman patricians held the plebeians in economic slavery, and the empire itself was one vast spoliation of labor. For a thousand years the lord oppressed the vassal. Previous to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, more than 20,000,000 peasants were in abject economic slavery and degradation as the result of exploitation by the upper classes. For centuries, the English landlords have ruthlessly despoiled the Irish people of the products of their labor. Gladstone made eloquent appeals that justice might be done to the subject race; but the stronger economic group would not exchange real advantage for sentiment. The American Revolution, preceded by restrictions on trade and manufactures, and by direct taxation, was the result of economic oppression. Economic groups have always contended for mastery.

PRESENT ECONOMIC GROUPS.

These groups are found at the present time in every country. A powerful aristocracy in Russia exploits

the peasantry. England furnishes a stable government for India, but, at the same time, drains India's resources.

The Dutch exploit a subject race in the East Indies, and the king of Belgium impoverishes and degrades still more a barbarous people in the interior of Africa.

TWO GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES.

There are two economic groups in the United States. The upper class includes the great "captains of industry" and the public service corporations. The exploited class is made up of all the vast laboring population and most of the middle class. While the limits of each are not well defined, the two groups are separate, distinct, and have opposing interests.

PRESENT EXPLOITATION.

The conflict between these two opposing groups is irrepressible. It is a conflict of economic interests, rather than of ideas. The upper class exploits the lower, and the exploited group struggles for economic freedom. Wage-labor is fast becoming economic slave labor. The stronger levies upon the weaker a system of indirect taxation. They smite the resources of labor, "and abundant streams of revenue pour forth." President Roosevelt had the interests of the lower group in mind when he said: "We must learn in the future to shackle cunning, as in the past we have learned to shackle force."

WEAPONS OF THE CONFLICT.

One group resorts to lockouts, limits production, and often uses government to advance its interests.

It has admirable organization, with trained leadership, and is in the possession of the means of production. The exploited classes have the weapon of the strike, and demand an increasing share of economic goods. They make up in numbers what they lack in organization and leadership; and by the ballot they can use the government to protect their interests.

KEY TO CURRENT EVENTS.

Class or group struggles produce current historic events. Each group is intent on its own interest and is in conflict with some other. The totality of these group relations produces history. Each class struggles to exploit some other or to be free from exploitation. In this irrepressible conflict the stronger will win and strength will lie in numbers, organization, and leadership. Ideas will have force in unifying a class, rather than in moving another to sacrifice its interests. The economic basis gives the true proportion and interpretation to current events, and results in truer judgments of the motives of men.

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